

THE
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THE
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VOL. IX.—MARCH, 1888.—No. LI.

DOES CHRISTIANITY AS CONCEIVED BY PAUL IMPLY A UNIVERSAL PREACHING OF CHRIST? A STUDY IN BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.¹

OUR inquiry assumes (1) that the principles of Christianity were revealed to St. Paul and communicated in his writings, and (2) that these principles were not elaborated in the Pauline scriptures into a complete system of theology.

(1) A word or two may be said in explanation of the first assumption. Christianity is the complex procedure by which God achieves human redemption. It consists of a series of acts directed to a common end and therefore having rational connection. One who adequately knows this vast procedure has a rational knowledge of it, that is, sees it to be the expression of perfect Reason. Knowledge of Christianity in its rationality was given to Paul in a degree preëminent among inspired men. He was gifted with such insight into the meaning of the world's life, as constituted by the co-working human and divine factors, and especially into the nature of that career in which the divine and human, completely interpenetrating each other, act together with decisive power, as to be qualified to interpret human history in its deepest, its religious meaning. He can so explain events under divine illumination as to draw from them trustworthy answers to the two greatest questions—What is God to man? and What may man be to God?

A mind so informed with the truth of fact, so keenly sensible of the meaning of history, will set forth Christianity as a rational whole. It will present a historic redemption, suggesting its central

¹ This article is the first of a series in which the Editors of the Review will discuss the principle of the universality of Christianity in the light of recent criticism. —EDS.

and significant features, and the relation of all the rest to these. That Paul does this, all who have fairly and faithfully studied his writings will testify.

But (2) Paul has not elaborated a system of Christian truth. The task of the theologian, the scientific presentation of Christianity in its completeness, was not that to which he was called. His letters were written to meet the immediate needs of their readers. Such account as they gave of God's redeeming dealing with men, was shaped to meet some special spiritual want of the church addressed, and is therefore necessarily lacking in the completeness belonging to a theological system.

It may be thought that the Epistle to the Romans should be excepted from this statement; that elaborate epistle which an American theologian has called "an inspired system of theology." But I must express the conviction, that this, no less than Paul's other letters, was written to meet present needs, and shaped by its practical aim. Paul could not have sat down to write to the Roman Church a treatise on divinity, a treatise which aimed and professed to give a scientific explanation of Christianity addressed to the speculative intellect. What he did undertake to do, as appears from the contents of the letter, was to present to that community, composed of as yet unassimilated Jewish and Gentile Christian elements, his gospel of justification by faith as the divine remedy for the moral needs of both Jew and Gentile. This implied the traversing of ground over which the theologian must pass (that is, if he make a Christian theology, one which centres in the cross), the discussion of the character of the race, the presentation of the death of Christ in its atoning value, and of his Spirit's power in the human heart.

But theology has to lead its pupils through great spaces which were not entered by Paul. It must draw out the evidences which nature and intuition give of the divine existence and character. But he assumes a belief in the living God, and in the divine revelation contained in the Hebrew Scriptures. And in traversing the common ground he follows the method of the religious teacher, not the theologian. Sin is nowhere discussed in its abstract nature; its genesis is only introduced incidentally and by way of illustration, passed rapidly over as assumed fact, not clearly and fully explained. Objections are often waived aside as showing a presumptuous spirit. Little desire is shown to justify the teaching to the speculative reason. For example, there is no explanation furnished of the expiatory power of Christ's

death. The Jewish or the Gentile section of the audience is now and then reminded by a personal allusion that the writer is making the truth available for its use. All this would be unfortunate in a system of dogmatics, but is entirely consistent with Paul's aim, namely, that of showing his readers (who represent to him the Jewish and the Gentile elements blended in the church catholic) that the gospel is the divine provision for meeting the moral needs of the world. In making his thesis good he presents always facts; first the corruption into which the heathen world had fallen, then the guilt of the Jew. The expiatory death of Christ is pointed out as the manifest beginning of a new moral era, an era in which God is visibly displaying both his holiness and his love in his dealing with man through redemptive agencies. These agencies, in their requirement of men, are shown to be essentially those which He has employed in the past, so far as He is seen working there to redeem. And the cross itself in its manifest meaning declares that a moral provision for man has been made; that forgiveness and peace must come to the believing; that restoration to the divine favor is offered to the race. The objection sure to come up in a Jewish mind, that the remedy proposed was no real remedy, since it did not release men from the bonds of revealed law, is met by showing that the faith in which Christ's atonement is accepted implies the renunciation of sin, and the deliverance of the subjugated will from its grasp. Then the new life into which faith brings men is described. This salvation declared by the cross is the divine gift to man. It is a historic fact; it is the key to history since in it the central wish and purpose of Him who controls history find expression. Especially is it significant of the meaning of the life of the Hebrew nation, whose are the promises, and of whom is Christ according to the flesh. The presentation of the theme requires, therefore, an explanation of the fact that Israel, for the most part, has not accepted the gospel. This explanation is given negatively by showing that it is not to be attributed to God's inability to control history, since Israel's past life reveals his grasp of its forces; and positively by declaring that his sovereignty, now so mysteriously used, is directed to compassing ends of mercy for the Gentile world. Eventually in the salvation of Jew and Gentile it will appear that Christianity is in fact what it has ever manifestly been in promise, the divine provision for the moral recovery of man.

Here we have a mind moving always in the historical sphere.

The teaching begins and ends within the confines of the present æon. The writer's theme does not lead him into the *αἰών μέλλων*. Evidently we must not expect to find in this epistle, much less in any of St. Paul's other epistles, a complete system of truth. The central principle of a system we do find, and the grand outlines of a structure, but not the elaborated and reasoned whole. Writing to meet the immediate needs of a community, Paul could not be expected to anticipate all the wants of all thinking minds. That he did not do so, the existence of dogmatic science in the church is sufficient proof. That his teaching has inferential instructiveness, that his general conception of the divine treatment of man can receive elaboration in directions in which he did not elaborate it, under the guidance of hints contained in his writings, all will believe who think that we can have a theology, and that the principle and outlines of one are given in the Pauline scriptures.

So we come to our subject. Paul did not find occasion to say whether Christianity, that is, the divine treatment of men set forth in the cross of Christ, is or is not applied to the great section of the race which died before Christ entered the world, and which did not have the benefit of the Jewish revelation.

Some, I know, will question this assertion. They find in Rom. ii. 12, "As many as have sinned without law shall perish without law," — a categorical teaching of the damnation of the entire heathen world, because of sin committed under the light of nature. But a brief examination of the context shows that the Apostle does not commit himself to this doctrine in these words. Paul is not teaching eschatology; he is setting forth ethical truth. To show that Jew and Gentile are alike amenable to moral law, he insists that God is impartial, and visits the sinner, whether heathen or Jew, with condemnation. The ruin which sin draws after itself when committed under the light of nature it also brings when done under the light of a revelation. This common treatment of sin under the divine government is a part of the description of men's moral state apart from the divine gracious gift, and is not intended to imply that either of the classes named will be excluded from the benefit of that gift.

The language of the passage refutes the alternate interpretation, for read as teaching eschatology it would predict the final condemnation of all men living, Gentiles, and Jews as well; inasmuch as the latter would be judged by the law which they had all broken, and receive its penalty of eternal death. (ii. 6, 9; iii. 9, 19.)

Paul, then, did not say whether the scope of Christianity does or

does not include those who died in heathenism before Christ came. Here, as with regard to the future destiny of those who die in infancy and early childhood, he leaves us to such information as is contained in his account of God's active relation towards mankind.

This account, as is evident from the analysis already given of the Epistle to the Romans, contains a philosophy of history, whose constructive principle is the revelation of God made in the cross. Here, it is taught, is an expiatory sacrifice for human sin (*ἱλαστήριον* Rom. iii. 25), which shows God's holy love for sinful men. It is a divine deed not to be classed with others, but in its power of expressing God and in its significance for the creaturely life, standing absolutely alone. Hence, after it was made, a new era in the world's moral life began, one in which God's character is seen resplendently manifest in history.

But the disclosure of God here given, shows Him pursuing a course of action. The cross means not only that God has removed one great obstacle to human salvation, but that "He is in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." (2 Cor. v. 19.) Looking at his guidance of human affairs in the light it sheds, we see that God is directing them to the accomplishment of that great object which Christ's death was an essential factor in securing.

This I believe to be a correct statement of the thought which underlies Rom. iii. 25, 26, and chapters ix.-xi. The connection of the historical discussion contained in these chapters with what has gone before, is furnished by the implied thought that the cross means a visible divine process of redemption. "Why are the Jews not as yet included in the divine kingdom process?" asks the Apostle. "Not because God is faithless to his promises, or has not power to fulfill them, but because the great aim He has in view will be furthered by their temporary exclusion." The question and the answer both teach that Christianity is God now working to save.

More than this, Paul teaches that the cross explains the divine ordering of the pre-Christian ages. It shows what God has been doing with the Jews. He has kept them under the drill of the law in order that they may acquire the moral docility requisite for faith. (Gal. iii. 23, 24.) The Gentile world was subjected to a somewhat similar discipline from its religious systems.¹

¹ See Lightfoot's comment. As he says, the context shows that Paul is addressing Jews and Gentiles alike. (Gal. iii. 28, 29; iv. 8. *ορούχεια* "rudiments"—Lightfoot and Grimm. So in classic Greek. See Liddell & Scott.)

Heathenism is thus thought of as a divine pedagogy,— and the heathen man is a son of God under discipline qualifying him for entering into his spiritual patrimony. (Gal. iv. 1, 2.)

The past life of the Gentile world, viewed from another point of view, the ethical, was ordered with reference to redemption. Sin came into the race through Adam's willful transgression, but beneath its development in history was a divine purpose directing its manifestations with reference to its ultimate removal. It was "in the wisdom of God," that "the world, through its wisdom knew not God." (1 Cor. i. 21.) Christ came "in the fullness of the time." (Gal. iv. 4.) "The ends of the ages have come upon" the church. (1 Cor. x. 11.) These hints, taken in connection with Paul's teaching concerning God's control of history, amount to a declaration that Christianity explains the divine guidance of the life of the pre-Christian world.

Let us now ask two questions, the answers to which are evidently closely connected with the specific object of our inquiry. First, is the divine love for man disclosed in the cross, and disclosed there as the key to God's ordering of history thought of by Paul as an impartial love; one felt for man as man, and therefore for every man? Secondly, is this love conceived as necessarily seeking the individual to make potential salvation actual in his

Neander (*Planting and Training*, Ryland's translation, 426, note) disputes this rendering. He says that if *στοιχεῖα* meant "rudiments" or first principles, we should naturally expect a genitive of that to which those principles relate, as in Heb. v. 12. But in the latter passage the genitive *λογισμῶν* is required by the specific reference of the thought. Besides, a common genitive of the object would have given heathenism and Judaism a closer relationship than they have in Paul's thought. Neander further objects that the rendering "rudiments" is inconsistent with Paul's view of heathenism as inherently wicked. But this *a priori* reason should not outweigh the lexicographical considerations. Paul may have attributed to a bad religion a certain disciplinary service through its ritual. "Rudiments" accords better with iv. 9; is preferred by Ellicott with some wavering. Meyer reads, "the crude beginnings of religion in the Jewish and Gentile worlds." We may say with Lightfoot, "It is a fair inference from St. Paul's language here, that he does place heathenism in the same category with Judaism in this last respect. Both alike are *στοιχεῖα*, elementary systems of training. They had this at least in common, that as ritual systems they were made up of precepts and ordinances, and thus were representatives of 'law,' as opposed to 'grace,' 'promise,' i. e., as opposed to the gospel. Doubtless in this respect even the highest form of heathen religion was much lower and less efficient than the Mosaic ritual. But still in an imperfect way they might do the same work; they might act as a restraint, which multiplying transgressions, and thus begetting and cherishing a conviction of sin, prepared the way for the liberty of manhood in Christ."

case? The first of these questions is easily answered. The object of God's redeeming love is the world. (2 Cor. v. 19.) "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." Christ died for all, *i. e.*, all men. (2 Cor. v. 15.) He died even for those who will not avail themselves of the benefits of his death. (1 C. viii. 11.) "Shall thy weak brother perish, for whom Christ died?" Even if through his own recreancy he perish, it will be true that Christ died for him.¹ And the vicarious death of the Son of God expresses God's personal love for those for whom Christ laid down his life. (Rom. v. 8.) "God commendeth his love toward us in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." The universality of this divine self-sacrificing love is implied in the representation made in the Epistle to the Romans of Christ's death as having relation to the moral needs of mankind. The whole world is ruined by sin; but God has provided a propitiation, that is, for human sin. (R. iii. 21 ff.) It is implied in the teaching that Christ's death is equally significant with Adam's sin in its relation to man. (Rom. v. 12 ff.) This means at least so much, that God has given Christ to be Saviour to every man. It is implied in the teaching that all differences among Christian believers pass out of sight; that all are a brotherhood. (Gal. iii. 28.) This is only another way of saying that Christianity is meant for man as man. The universality of the divine love is certainly the very core of Paulinism. No one can claim that Paul thought that God loves only those whose characters are in some degree pleasing to Him; for he teaches that the gift of God's Son, the highest conceivable expression of the divine love, was made to sinners. And there are few who believe that the Apostle held God arbitrarily to have selected some from the race as objects of his affection.

To the second question, we may find an answer in that just given to the first. Paul's conception of the divine nature as true to itself implied that those whom God loved He would seek to save, and that if He loved all, He would seek to save all. Indeed, the seeking is already begun in the act which reveals and expresses God's impartial love, the giving of Christ to die for men. Paul has reminded us of what this implies in the case of every man in saying, "He that spared not his own son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things." (Rom. viii. 32.) A conception of Christianity which finds in the atonement a supreme expression of God, and also thinks of the atonement as made for all men, surely includes a personal divine

¹ See article by Professor Dwight, *New Englander*, 1869, p. 396.

seeking of all men. Paul believes that God is sovereign : that He uses history as a means of self-expression,—that nothing can thwart his wish and purpose of love, unless it be human obduracy ; — then he must mean that He would put his love for every man to expression in the way of seeking to save every one in connection with each one's own free choice.

It may be suggested that Paul's doctrine of election puts a limitation on the expression of God's saving love. Grant that He loves all, is He not obliged to leave some out of the expression of his love made in the gospel call ? This is not Paul's doctrine of election, whatever that doctrine may be, for this is an election growing out of a limitation of power ; whereas Paul insists that God is absolutely unfettered. (Rom. ix.) I believe that Paul would have met a theory of election as a bar to God's gracious action by indignantly repeating the question contained in Rom. viii. 32. Indeed we find an answer to it in Rom. xi. There the Apostle teaches that God's control of human action with reference to his gracious offers is in the interests of redemption. He teaches, as has been already said, that the unbelief of the Jew was a means to the conversion of the Gentile, and that this would, in its turn, bring about the salvation of the Jew, and so God's loving purpose for both would be executed. "He shut up all in unbelief, in order that he might have mercy upon all," is his explanation of the problem furnished by God's apparent discrimination against the chosen people in the execution of his world-plan.

It is not necessary that I should try to show the place which Paul's doctrine of election has in his theology. It is sufficient that I should prove that a reason cannot be found in it for denying that a universal seeking of men is implied in Paul's doctrine of the universal love of God.

If what has been said to meet this objection be not conclusive, let me add that he never speaks of the election as effected by limitation of the offer of grace. The elect as against the non-elect are not those who hear the gospel as against those who do not. For alas ! not all those who hear belong to the elect.

Additional evidence that Paul believed the dispensation of grace to be universal is the parallel drawn between the relation which Adam and Christ respectively bear to the race. (Rom. v. 12-21.) The underlying thought of the passage I believe to be this, that Christ's atonement had in God's thought the same practical significance for humanity as had Adam's sin. As the one brought universal death, so the other was to convey universal life.

I cannot admit that it is not the same race which is meant in both instances. The supposition that Paul has a new race in mind, composed of men believing on Christ during the time elapsing between Pentecost and the Parousia, seems to me to have no foundation in the Apostle's language. Indeed, with Paul's view of the immanence of the Parousia, how could he have believed that the number of believers would bear any comparison whatever to that included in vanished generations? And the comparison between the relation which Christ and Adam respectively sustain to the race implies the same *tertium quid*. "If one man's sin, under a reign of law, could have universal working, how much more one man's righteous act under a dispensation of grace?" The field of operation is in both cases the same, namely, the life of the race. Substitute for mankind in the second section of the comparison, "those who are saved," and so make Paul reason from the spread of sin through mankind as the result of Adam's disobedience, to the spread of righteousness through an indeterminate number of persons, as the consequence of Christ's obedience, and you get a pretentious and feeble utterance not worthy of Paul. And you contradict the statement of v. 18. "Accordingly, then, as through one transgression it came to all to condemnation, so through one justifying judgment" (if I may take this signification of δικαιώμα with Meyer and Weiss, as against righteous act of Grimm and revision), "it came to all men to justification of life." The "all men" must have the same reference in both clauses. The words are plainly used to teach that Christ's death has, as a provision of grace, a range of effect equal to that of Adam's sin.

Let me take occasion to say that I do not think that Paul teaches here directly or by implication that all souls will be saved. He is continuing a description of Christianity viewed as a divine provision for man's moral needs, begun at iii. 21. It is as though he had said, "Behold in the cross God's way of giving that of which all men are in desperate need." Chapter iv. shows it is a way anticipated in God's treatment of believing Jews. Chapter v. 1-11 describes it as a way commanding itself by experimental results, since it gives joy in the assurance of the divine love, of which it brings a wonderful experience. Then, in the paragraph 12-21, Paul shows that, by virtue of the solidarity of mankind, it is a race provision, matching the comprehensiveness of that provision for the spread of sin involved in the connection between Adam and his posterity. Study of the details of the passage will make it plain that Paul is not teaching eschatology in them

but theology in the strict sense, that he is speaking of the work of Christ as it lies in the divine idea, and not as realized in fact. Since its realization implies human coöperation, there may be lack of perfect correspondence between idea and fact through human willfulness. In the only sentence in which the distributive effect of Adam's sin is one member of the comparison, we have as its correlate, not the subjective work of Christ, but its objective, ideal counterpart (v. 18, if the rendering of δικαιώμα given above be correct). To find a categorical teaching of universal salvation in this chapter, would be therefore to commit an error precisely like that making ii. 12 teach the perdition of all who die in heathenism.

But while Paul does not teach here that God will actually save every man, he does imply that He will offer salvation to every man. This is of the very pith of the comparison. Because of the solidarity of the race Adam has brought about universal sin. God takes advantage of that same race fact to provide universal redemption through Christ; provide it, that is, under ethical conditions. Such revelation as these conditions imply is presupposed. That is, the reconciling work of God has the race as its object; Christ brings it life, as Adam gave it death. In what other way than by an offer of life to all can Christ's work be a race fact according to Pauline principles? By providing an atonement to be available for a part of mankind? R. v. 21 answers the question: "But where sin abounded, grace did abound more exceedingly; that as sin reigned in death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Paulinism, then, does not exclude the pre-Christian world either from God's love, or the realization of it in a divine winning of the soul. Christ died for the multitudes who lived in heathenism before He came into the world. And God, who gave his Son to die for them, has provided or will provide a way of making his death available for them if they will so have it. A belief that all those myriads went to perdition as if there were no redemptive desire and purpose of God regarding them, is in contravention to the central principle of Christianity as conceived by Paul. Those who claim his authority for this belief must show how it can be reconciled with his teaching about God's disposition towards man and God's sovereign power. The burden of proof is upon them, not upon those who hold the contrary view. Paul's not expressly speaking of the ultimate destiny of the pre-Christian world is an argument against their view, not against that of their opponents.

The fact is to be accounted for by the historic trend of his thought. His mind occupied itself with God's redemptive work as it appeared in history. He did not undertake to describe such part of it as may be either outside history, or numbered among its secret forces.

But though he does not speak of the final destiny of those who went into the other world before the new era began, his casual allusions to them seem to indicate that he thought of them as within the wide horizon of God's merciful dealing. The race, up to the establishment of Christianity, is, he virtually says, in the position of a minor becoming fit by training to inherit property. Could he have thought of those members of it who died before Christ, as having no spiritual inheritance, but only a destiny of retribution? "When the fullness of the time came, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, that he might redeem those under the law, that they might receive the adoption." And is the adoption only for the little fraction at the end of the long process of discipline? The supposition is antagonistic to the Apostle's thought of a disciplinary process to which all are alike subject and which has a corporate result. In Romans iii. 25, 26, Paul teaches that "God set forth Christ a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness, on account of the passing over of previously-committed sins, in the forbearance of God; for showing his righteousness in the present time; that he may be just and justifying him who is of faith in Jesus." It is as if he had said: Up to the time of Christ's death human sin had been leniently treated, and it might have been inferred from this that God did not enforce moral law; but now that inference cannot be drawn. Christ's death, which is manifestly expiatory, teaches the world that God's action in passing over sin did not express his real disposition with regard to it. It reveals Him now and henceforth as the God, who is not morally lax, but who justifies the sinner on righteous principles. It is not said that those whose sins were passed over during the time of God's forbearance were ultimately pardoned. A declaration as to their final destiny would not have been germane to Paul's thought. But can we easily believe that he would have spoken of God's dealing with them as he did if he had thought that they had no part nor lot in the divine purpose of redemption? In that case he must have felt that the ordering of their earthly life was not only an apparent but a real swerving from the principles of rectoral righteousness. God would have seemed arbitrarily for a

little while to suspend the law which his character obliged Him to execute. But if a thought of mercy underlay the life of the pre-Christian world, then God's lenient treatment of it was intelligible. Besides, the cross reveals a God righteously forgiving. Does it at the same time suggest a past unrighteousness in the non-enforcement of moral law? Not if it intimate a reason in the universal atonement for this suspension of penalty. I, for one, then, must read between the lines of the passage Paul's belief that God's lenient treatment of the world up to the time of Christ's death, had its explanation in that event, that he believed that here was the solution of the moral problem presented by the unpunished sin of the past.

Let me add to these proofs that our application of the principles of the Pauline theology to the ante-Christian world is correct, the suggestive parenthesis of Rom. v. 13, "Sin is not reckoned when law (*i. e.*, revealed law) does not exist." The contextual thought is this: Death is due to Adam's sin. Its prevalence before the law was given proves this. For it is the recognized punishment of sin, and sin is not imputed unless there is law. Death must therefore have been visited upon those who lived and died without a revelation of the divine law, as a penalty for the sin of Adam. The argument even more than the language shows that Paul believed that sin committed in moral ignorance would not be regarded as sin in the absolute sense; would not be the ground of an absolute punishment. We are forced, then, to believe either that he regarded the heathen world as having had its probation in Adam, and as condemned to final perdition on account of his sin, or that he held its final destiny to be undetermined until it could have had a revelation of God's will. There are few, I presume, who will take the former position; for it is in direct contravention of Paul's doctrine of a final personal judgment (to say nothing of its moral hideousness). He could think of men's suffering the lighter penalty of death for a fault which was not theirs, for this was involved in that structure of the race by virtue of which Christ was able to procure redemption for it. But he cannot have thought, I, for one, firmly believe, that God ever sentenced a human being to eternal death merely because Adam sinned. If he did not, the words, "Sin is not imputed where there is no law," are a star of hope set into the darkness of the world's earlier life.

Unless, then, I have misapprehended the shaping principle of Paul's theology, and have wrongly construed what I regard as his

suggestions regarding its application, it includes the pre-Christian world within the scope of God's redemptive purpose.

This means, I say again, a seeking of that world : a putting of redemptive forces into contact with the individual. The divine purpose of redemption as Paul describes it, includes this. God's reconciling the world to himself implies some sort of a ministration of reconciliation. (2 Cor. v. 18.) God's provision for the moral need of the race is Christ set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood. To Paul the gift includes the earthly means by which it becomes of service.

I dwell on this because I suspect that many who enter into some extent into the teaching of Paulinism concerning the pre-Christian world, stop short of its full import. They do not believe that the Apostle puts all those multitudes outside the pale of mercy ; but they do not see that he assigns to them such hope as a share in God's redeeming love implies. But his teaching forbids the thought that there is any middle place for men. Either they are left to condemnation, hopelessly doomed to eternal death, or they are or will be in the area in which redeeming forces operate. We go directly contrary to the central principle of his theology, as I have said once and again, if we take the former view. Then we must fully accept the later. To do this is to infer that to the heathen part of the pre-Christian world the gospel will probably be preached after death.

For Paul thinks of the divine seeking of men as made through a disclosure of the divine mercy and love. When he says (Rom. x. 14), "How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed ; and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard ; and how shall they hear without a preacher ?" he sums up his teaching as to the way in which men must be saved, if saved at all. It is by faith. It is by accepting the revelation of God's pitying love and grace. And this is not an arbitrary condition, for faith not only puts one into right objective relation to God through its acceptance of Christ's atonement (Rom. iii. 25), but in its very nature implies a revolutionary subjective change — a dying to sin — (Rom. vi.), which is the condition of receiving the Holy Spirit as the principle of a new moral life.

One might think that Paul had expressed himself here beyond all possibility of mistake. If there is a human idea which he opposes, it is that any other procedure than faith can bring salvation. The Galatians who think of abandoning it for another are in deadly spiritual peril. All the religious experience the race has

had shows that this is the one way of life. Abraham found God in this way, as the scripture testifies. The Jewish law was evidently an instrument made to drill men into readiness to believe, and so experience the fulfillment of the ancient promise made to Abraham and his seed. And the vital power of faith, its necessary part in human salvation, so far as that is a subjective thing, is taught by Paul with especial fullness of statement and elaborateness of reasoning. (Rom. vi. and vii.)

But, it may be suggested, perhaps Paul thought of faith as possible without a revelation. Perhaps he regarded men possessing only the light of nature as able to connect themselves with God by this act of trust which should in its exercise work a moral revolution in them. But his answer is, "How shall they believe unless they hear?" In all his allusions to the moral condition of the heathen world he assumes its lack of such knowledge of God as can supply aliment for saving faith. Not only is this so in the description of the moral condition of the Gentile world made in Rom. i., but in Gal. iv., where that condition is viewed not in its moral desert, but in its promise, we find the same assumption. Subjection to "weak and beggarly rudiments" was implied in ignorance of God. Not until the knowledge of God came, could men exchange their moral and spiritual thralldom for the freedom of faith.

It should be remembered, however, that our question is not whether men under the light of nature in any instance can, but whether in any considerable number of instances they will believe in the Pauline sense. In other words, did Paul think, do the principles of his theology permit believing, that there was a pre-Christian heathen dispensation of grace corresponding to the Christian gracious dispensation; that there was a divine seeking of men through natural knowledge of God comparable in range of efficacy to the seeking of them through the preaching of the gospel? His representations of the religious status of the heathen world most plainly imply (I believe) the contrary.

Why does he in the opening chapters of the Epistle to the Romans dwell upon the helpless ruin of men apart from the gospel, but to show that their hope is bound up in the gospel? Indeed, the expressions in which he speaks of God as lenient toward the race in earlier days imply that He was not giving it a treatment which adequately expressed his redeeming love. He is said (Rom. iii. 25) to have passed over (not forgiven) human sin in those days. His goodness was leading men on toward a repentance, to be com-

passed by the full revelation of his grace. He is drilling the subjects of inferior religions, by their ritualistic service, for the faith of the gospel. All this shows that Paul thought (I need hardly argue that his theology implies in its leading principles) that God did not make the light of nature the instrument of his grace ; that the redemptive working did not begin for the heathen world until the fullness of time which brought Christ, and the full disclosure of the divine love. Let me add Paul's teaching in Rom. xi. that the unbelief of the Jews made the salvation of the Gentiles possible because it secured to them the preaching of the gospel.

Paul's thought as regards the relation of spiritual knowledge to salvation is gathered into the following passage of 1 Tim. (which I regard as probably a Pauline letter) : - " Who willeth that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. For one is God, and one is mediator between God and men, a man, namely, Christ Jesus. Who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time." (ii. 4-6.)

God wills that all be saved, and therefore wills that all come to a knowledge of the truth. And that this is the way in which God's saving wish must be accomplished is apparent from there being only one mediator between the only God and men. God's universal saving wish found expression in Christ's giving himself a ransom for all, and in his atonement's being borne witness to, in due time (that is, in the time after it took place, and in which therefore it could be announced as fact), since both the gift and the testimony are required for the satisfaction of the wish.¹

" But if the Gentiles could only have been saved through the preaching of Christ, was not this equally necessary for the Jews? And you do not claim that none of them found acceptance with God." The pith of the objection is that my application of the principles of Paul's theology to God's dealing with the pre-Christian world breaks down when Israel is reached, and that therefore the method used must be vicious. But it does not follow from the Gentiles not having had a knowledge of God in which saving faith could rest, that the Jews were denied such knowledge. It does not follow from the Gentiles not having felt the redemptive forces, in which the divine love finds expression, that the Jews did not feel those forces. How antagonistic this assumption is to Paul's teaching ! " What, then, is the superiority of the Jew and what the advantage of circumcision. In every way, much. First

¹ See Weiss's *Handbuch über die Briefe Pauli an Timotheus und Titus*, 112-114.

of all, in that they were intrusted with the oracles of God." Abraham, to whom God came in a special, personal revelation with a glorious promise, believed Him who thus disclosed himself, and it was counted to him for righteousness.

But it may be said, "Judaism falls far short of Christianity in persuasive power, and so in making Paul teach that God's love must find adequate expression in a redemptive dispensation you make him say that which historical fact well known to him contradicts." I reply, the historic conditions of redemption implied a limitation here, as Paul himself teaches. He does not say that God's saving wish was permanently restricted, that the less perfect revelation made to Judea was the full and final one in the case of every Jew. He allows us to draw the contrary inference from the large principles of his theology. Indeed, he encourages our doing so by saying even of the Jews who turned away from the gospel, "God shut up all in unbelief in order that he might have mercy upon all." That is, the Apostle suggests a deeper thought of mercy toward the individual Jew than could find expression under the historic conditions of the plan of salvation.

Paul has not, I may go on to say, undertaken to describe the Jewish economy as a provision for meeting the religious wants of the Jews. He dwells chiefly upon one leading feature of it, the dominant one in his time, and one in which its subsidiary and temporary character was especially evident. He does not claim that this is all of Judaism. The passage I have quoted and others of like tenor show that he held the contrary belief. It follows that he would not have thought the religious status of a Jew adequately described by calling him a man under the law. He would have said that he was under a promise too; that, to use his own language, he was shut up by the law to an expectation of spiritual blessing to be extended hereafter. That state of expectancy under the law he must have regarded as a gracious state, in some sense, since he says that the fathers had means of grace corresponding to the Christian sacraments. (1 Cor. x.) That it was not, in his thought, the state into which Christian faith brings men is shown by the whole argument of the Epistle to the Galatians.

We are obliged to infer from that argument that Paul would have believed that any Jew who had ever lived might, if living at the time of Christ, have come into a fuller consciousness of acceptance with God, and a more spiritual life through faith in Christ. We may not be able to see how Paul harmonized this

belief with his reverence for the Old Testament prophets. Nor may we be able to see how he reconciled his belief that Judaism was a dispensation imbedded in God's grace with the contumacious resistance to Christianity made by many, in their way, devout Jews. But these are historical difficulties created by our wide separation from the facts, and they furnish no reason for our failing to receive Paul's plain teaching as to the absoluteness of Christianity. They will not so influence us unless we insist on making Hebraism Christianity. Why should we say to ourselves that a man must be either a Christian disciple after the Pauline conception or alienated from God? We should be presumptuous in affirming that there may not have been a spiritual childhood, a state of provisional and anticipatory acceptance with God, which expressed the divine redeeming love only in its promise of a spiritual maturity. We should then need to study Christ's teaching about John the Baptist's place as compared with that of the members of the Kingdom. Judaism expressed God's redeeming love towards the individual Jew as the life of a child in a Christian home expresses his redeeming love towards the child. The heir, the lord of all, was under tutors and governors, yet he felt that he had an inheritance.

But it may be said, "Does not Paul, in his teaching concerning the final judgment and its relation to the earthly life, discourage the hope of a preaching in the intermediate state? Must not our interpretation of Paulinism face the difficulty that it sets Paul against himself?" No; provided his words be interpreted according to their evident intention. Rom. ii. 16 is, I believe, sometimes cited as teaching that the heathen will be judged according to their action under natural law. But Paul is not teaching eschatology at all in the passage. He is teaching the equal moral responsibility of Jew and Gentile. This, he says, is unaffected by the fact that the Jews had a revelation of God's will in their law. The Gentiles have an unwritten law and obey it. The judgment will show that the deeds required by the law were written on the hearts of such men, that is, that their righteous acts were moral acts, done in obedience to an inner moral law. When all men's lives shall be seen in their true light it will appear that the heathen lived in conscious accountability to God. There is no affirmation here as to whether the deeds of the entire period of existence will or will not be passed upon at the last judgment.

It is claimed, that Paul, in 2 Cor. v. 10, teaches that destiny
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is assigned at the judgment simply according to the deeds done in the earthly life. Is the inference correct? He is speaking out of a Christian experience. By "we all" he means himself and his fellow-believers. He is speaking, we have good reason to believe, in the expectation of a not distant coming of Christ. Then probation will be over, and the state of award entered upon. From his present point of view the earthly life will be the chief part of that period, perhaps all of it. His mind scarcely takes in the intermediate state. Therefore he says, "We must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, that each one may receive for the deeds done through the body." I do not find in the passage the intention to affirm that the intermediate state is not a period of conscious and so responsible life, nor in any way to define its importance as compared with that of the earthly life. The affirmation, I believe, extends only to assertion of accountability at the bar of God for deeds done here.

Think what the statement affirms if made a categorical teaching of the relation of this life to the next. A lad of ten, eight, six, or five years dies, and is judged by the childish conduct of those years. Opportunity of repentance, if there were sin, is withheld; the deeds of the life, passed somewhere during the rolling centuries, are as nothing, because he simply receives for the deeds done in the body.

Christianity, as conceived and taught by Paul, includes all men, both within God's saving wish and the expression of that wish in the presentation of Christ. This is the result of our study. A divine seeking of all (which does not necessarily imply in all cases a favorable response), a seeking with other and more effective means than the natural knowledge of God, this we must attribute to Paul if we regard him as a self-consistent teacher. This suggests a preaching after death to the pre-Christian heathen, to all heathen. The mind does not ask for such certitude on this point as it craves with regard to the basis of personal salvation,—certitude which cannot be given by any authority, however weighty, apart from the witnessing spirit within. It does ask for such probability as will relieve it from torturing doubt regarding the divine beneficence, and this it receives from the Pauline teaching.

Here, as with regard to the salvation of young children, we seek in the Scripture light enough to meet our need, and find it. It comes through an honest and reverent study of the principles of Christianity, as found imbedded in apostolic teaching.

Why Paul did not give his conception of Christianity express

application to the pre-Christian world, is a question which we have not the requisite data for answering.

We do not know what degree of fullness of instruction would have met the ends his teaching served.

Why did he not speak of the grounds of hope for those dying in childhood and youth in Christian communities? Why did he not give more than a hint or two concerning the state of the blessed dead until the Parousia? Why did he not teach retribution in elaborated doctrine? We do not know. We must simply receive his teaching as he gave it to his generation, and allow its principles their due application to such problems as life raises. This we can see, that his expectation of the Parousia may have prevented him from applying his doctrine of redemption to the earlier world. Not knowing the opportunity furnished by these many Christian centuries, he may have turned away from the question of how the Saviour of all would be presented to them.

Yet we know that he believed in the *descensus*, and in redemptive working among the dead. For he is not making a rhetorical flourish when he says (Rom. x. 7), "Who shall descend into the depth? that is, to bring up Christ from the dead?" And he is not dealing out a florid generality, when he predicts (Phil. ii. 10), that "at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of those in heaven, those on the earth, and those below the earth." (*κατακθοῦσιν*)

Edward Young Hincks.

IS PROTESTANT UNITY POSSIBLE?

THE sentiment in favor of Christian unity, which is at the present time becoming so strong in many of the Protestant denominations, is of comparatively recent growth. It is, in fact, a part of a much greater movement in modern life, which tends at once to conservation of effort and concentration of power, and which leads away from the abstract discussions of the past to the practical questions that concern the present. But the immediate reason for the present desire for some sort of Christian unity is the fact that the ties of denominationalism have of late years become much weakened. Members of the churches no longer look upon their own special church as the one and only way of salvation to the exclusion of all others. An apparent exception to this is the High

Church Episcopalian ; but even he includes the Greek and Roman communions within his field of covenanted mercies, and covers the "sects" with the mantle of God's uncovenanted mercies. The age is conspicuously tolerant — altogether too tolerant, in the opinion of many old-fashioned people. It is so busy with a multitude of other concerns that it has no time to quarrel over theological subtleties. And so a large number of ecclesiastical questions that used to rise as walls of separation between the churches are to-day slumbering in "innocuous desuetude."

There was much that was picturesque, much even that was commendable, in the old heroic age of denominationalism. The splendid courage of the denominational war-horses of those days of interneccine strife, their skill in the tourney of debate, their bravery in repelling attacks, their zeal in organizing sorties, their manliness — their simplicity, and their love of what they understood to be the truth, were admirable, and almost made one forget that civil war is always deplorable, though the combatants on each side are heroes.

But even while they were fighting so fiercely and bravely for their special conceptions of Christian truth and their special schemes of Christian theology, a newer and more comprehensive thought began to germinate and grow in the hearts of the people ; and a few visionary enthusiasts, as they were at first called, dared to predict a time when the divided branches of the Christian Church would no longer wage war against each other, but would dwell together in unity. At first these dreamers were laughed to scorn, and violently accused of theological laxity. For, as it was said with a great deal of reason, men who confidently predict the decadence of any system show thereby that they do not believe in its divine permanence. But the enthusiasts kept on reiterating their belief, and at last the rank and file in the churches began to see very dimly that denominationalism and Christianity might possibly be two very different things. This idea first crystallized in the organization of the Evangelical Alliance, a body which is entitled to the gratitude of all Christians for the great work which it has done. It must be remembered that the aim of the Alliance was not to remove the barriers between the various orthodox Christian denominations, but to promote an essential unity of sympathy and feeling which might find some expression in spite of denominational barriers. It did not directly attempt to reconcile the differences between Christians; but simply to ignore or minimize them, while it laid stress upon their points of unity, and dwelt upon the

fact that all earnest Christians of every name are in divers ways and methods striving for the same great end. And so at its gatherings there was a great deal of apparent unity which, though it sometimes had little reality behind it, yet served to educate the Christian consciousness of the people up to a higher and nobler conception of the church than had obtained before.

In this way the Alliance has done incalculable good. It has served as a bridge over which Christian men have been walking from the old age of warfare to the new age of peace. It would be easy enough, doubtless, to criticise it, and to show that it was built upon a spirit of compromise, rather than upon any enduring principle. It might be pointed out that in many instances it only succeeded in making Christians united in words, while they still remained hostile in actions. But such hypercriticism would be both unjust and unfair. The Evangelical Alliance, like every other institution, must be judged by the degree of faithfulness with which it carried out its avowed principles and accomplished its aims.

But having said this much in justice to the Evangelical Alliance, it may perhaps be allowable to say that its old ideal of unity no longer satisfies Christian men, indeed, no longer satisfies the Alliance itself. The Christian world has been moving since the Alliance was formed. The folly and the uselessness of sectarianism are becoming more apparent every day. Thanks to the Alliance and to other similar agencies, the churches have learned some of the deeper meanings of toleration. On a vast number of questions that once separated them they now agree to differ, and in their intercourse with each other there are very few violations of the rules of courtesy and charity. Theologians as a rule do not nowadays indulge in those bitter personal controversies that did so much to increase the number of useless polemical pamphlets a generation or two ago. This may be because they do not feel altogether sure of their ground, or because they have imbibed some of the tolerant spirit of the age. Men who profess radically different creeds, and who belong to churches that were once bitterly hostile to each other, may be seen working shoulder to shoulder in some of the numerous societies and agencies that at the present day so nobly interpret the meaning of Christianity in questions of sociology, philanthropy, and reform. In fact, there may be found to-day a large number of enlightened men and women, who habitually travel without their ecclesiastical harness and theological blinders. While loyal to the particular denomina-

tion of which they are members, and accepting in a general way its body of theological dogma, they adopt for practical use in their daily life a sort of composite Christianity, which is exactly like no one denomination, but which exhibits many of the excellences of each of them. And thus while the wise leaders in the churches are puzzling over the knotty question of Christian unity, a large number of plain people have, not indeed solved it, but have at least taken one great step towards its solution.

But while the unity of sympathy has been thus growing in the churches, the ugly fact remains that church organizations, with essentially the same fundamental creed, are still arrayed against each other. Go to a little hamlet of a thousand inhabitants in almost any part of the country, and you will see three or perhaps four church societies, each one of them just barely alive, and all of them rivals with each other, for the doubtful allegiance of the people. This state of affairs is repeated everywhere. Ecclesiastical organizations which differ from each other only in some insignificant detail of church polity, on account of this petty difference voluntarily tax themselves to keep up the costly machinery of two, or three, or four churches, when one would answer every purpose.

We can understand, though we may deplore, the great historic divisions of the Christian Church in past ages, where differences of opinion and belief were so radical as to affect not only this life but the life to come. Such divisions mark great epochs in the history of Christian thought, and in a large sense were necessary to the complete development of Christian truth. Even to-day divisions of this character exist, as, for instance, that between Greek and Latin Christianity, or that between Latin Christianity and Protestantism. It is idle to talk, as some enthusiastic people do, about the possibility of speedily healing these divisions by shutting our eyes to their nature and extent, and by cultivating a general feeling of mushy charity and good will. There is a gushing sentimentality abroad which, by ignoring such tremendous differences of creed and conduct, does much to make the question of practical Christian unity appear contemptible. Doubtless the time will come when even the Greek, Roman, and Protestant wings of Christendom will be united. But humanly speaking, the time is very far off, and the question need not now be considered.

It seems to me, therefore, that it would be wiser to cease for the present the discussion of Christian unity in its widest sense, and discuss instead the possibility of a Protestant reunion. And if

we find that even a general Protestant unity is not at present feasible, then let us devote ourselves to the bringing about of such a union of individual Protestant denominations as is feasible. It is entirely practical to ask why the more or less trivial and unnecessary divisions that exist, for instance, between different wings of the same denomination are continued. Whatever may have been their necessity or their meaning in the past, they serve no good purpose to-day. They enfold no living thought of the Christianity of this age, but serve simply to emphasize and recall the theological differences of an age that is past. The old religious dispensation of which they were a part is rapidly dying, — nay, perhaps, is already dead, and a new dispensation, with new aims and new watchwords, is taking its place. It would be amusing, if it were not so sad, to see bitter partisans on both sides attempt by their puny influence to urge on or retard the wonderful evolution of religious thought and ideas that is now going on. Men actually seem to suppose that they can stem the advance of a great idea by solemnly meeting together and voting it down by a bare majority, or hinder the spread of a mighty thought by the thumb-screw of parliamentary rules. This age is painfully lacking in a sense of proportion, and especially in its estimate of religious truth and dogma. Much of our modern religious polemical literature is of little intrinsic value because of this defect. The infinitely great is often either ignored or misunderstood, while that which is trivial and commonplace is thrust into the foreground of men's thoughts and hopes.

And so it happens that the changes which are now so modifying the character of Protestantism almost escape the attention of the leaders of Protestant thought. They still identify Christianity with their special denomination whose shibboleths they imagine to be the great rallying cries of the universal religion of Christ. Indeed, the leaders of Protestant thought, the men who do its official thinking, and who speak for it officially, almost entirely fail to understand the trend of Christian thought. They still imagine that their work lies in the trenches of denominational warfare, and that the rank and file of their followers will be inspired, as of old, by the ancient denunciational war-cries.

But, as a matter of fact, people care very little for these war-cries, and they are getting to care less every year. We have learned to see that Protestantism has not done what it has done because of the predominant superiority of any one of its divisions, but because of the general excellence of them all in the aggregate.

If the whole of Protestantism to-day, by some strange revolution of thought, were suddenly to become Episcopal, or Baptist, or Methodist, or Presbyterian, or Congregational, Protestantism itself as a whole would not be essentially different in character, aim, and spirit from what it is now. Its followers would experience no break in their scheme of religious life or habits of thought, nor would the aspirations and ideals which now animate them be changed in the slightest degree. On the contrary, these aspirations and ideals would be strengthened, the present path of progress would be cleared and straightened, and the influence which Protestantism now exerts would be vastly increased. If this be so,—and no one who has studied carefully the constituent elements of modern Protestantism will deny it,—it is quite evident that the questions on which it is divided involve no principles which are at all worth fighting about, or which affect in the slightest degree the life or conduct of any of its followers.

Evidently, therefore, the time has come when we should seriously consider the possibility of reuniting Protestantism. Christianity is to-day menaced by hostile forces, which can only be overcome, if at all, by its united strength. The materialism of the age, with its long train of influences opposed to any kind of spirituality, the attention paid to the arts and sciences which minister to the comfort and luxury of life, the ominous weakening of the idea of duty, the growing strength of the lawless and anti-religious elements of society, and generally the existence of so many tendencies in modern life which are inimical to the healthy existence and orderly growth of religious faith,—all these are to-day standing in united array against Christianity in any form.

In view of these opposing forces, are the Protestant churches still determined to go on with their family feuds and guerrilla warfare, or are they convinced of the folly and wickedness of this course, and are they ready for the future to dwell together in that unity which at all times and under all circumstances should characterize the church of God? In other words, is not some practical reunion of Protestantism among the possibilities of the near future? I think it is, but it will not be brought about by any formal scheme of union proposed by any one Christian denomination. For such a scheme of union will necessarily be one-sided, and will fail to take into account all the problems to be solved. To a certain extent this rules out the scheme of unity recently proposed by the Episcopal House of Bishops. Certainly it is not likely that the non-Episcopal Protestant churches will ever accept the Epis-

copal view of orders. The Episcopal bishops have been severely criticised on the ground that this declaration of theirs is both impudent and arrogant. But such criticism is unjust. They simply stated with dignity and entire courtesy what they conceived to be the fundamental position of their church. In this they did only what a similar body of Presbyterian, or Methodist, or Baptist, or Congregational divines would have done under the same circumstances. If any one Christian body is to draw up a scheme of organic unity, it could not be done with greater charity and courtesy than it was done by the Episcopal bishops.

But no one denomination is competent to do this. Practical unity will come about only by the gradual assimilation of each church to all the others, rather than by any one church swallowing up all the others. This process of assimilation is going on now with greater rapidity than we imagine. Many of the denominational angles have become worn away. There is a tendency in all the churches to hide away or ignore the doctrines that more peculiarly differentiate them from the rest of Christendom. Almost unconsciously to themselves the churches are finding the least common multiple of their dogmatic creeds, and are exhibiting this common multiple instead of their own special creed as the highest outlook of modern Christianity. It is difficult for any except very close observers to see it, but there is a healthful readjustment of thought going on in the Protestant world to-day. There is a movement downwards on the part of those denominations which shot above the normal line of essential Christianity, and a movement upwards on the part of those denominations that fell below that normal line. And when they all meet, as meet they will, on a common line the question of the reunion of Protestantism will solve itself without the help of any formal schemes of unity.

We all know, of course, that it has been and is yet the dream of certain Christian bodies that some day or other all the Christian world will be reunited by acknowledging their claims to be the true and only representative of Christianity. Such a dream will never be realized. Christianity cannot be monopolized by any one division of the Christian Church. It is in the very air we breathe; and if by some great cataclysm of thought every ecclesiastical organization on the earth to-day were to be swept out of existence, Christianity would still exist, nay, more, would grow, and would soon take on to itself a new outward form and organization suitable to the circumstances which surrounded

it. The Church of the future will not be the exact pattern of any one church of to-day, but the orderly and natural development of the aggregate Christianity of to-day. And being the product of such a development, the Church of the future will possess within itself all the good features and all the elements of truth which are now divided and subdivided among the several churches; and, on the other hand, it will be without those marks of narrow sectarianism, and those dogmatic elements of weakness, which may be found in every one of the churches of the present day. It is not, therefore, a question, as so many seem to think, whether the Episcopalians shall swallow up the Presbyterians, or whether the Presbyterians shall swallow up the Episcopalians. Rather, it is a question whether the Episcopal Church is ready to drop what is neither true nor necessary in its own system, and to adopt what is good and true in the Presbyterian system. And so, reversing the case, real Christian unity can only be promoted when the Presbyterian Church is ready to drop everything in its own system that is neither helpful nor necessary, and to adopt anything in Episcopacy which by the test of time and use has proved itself to be valuable in the practical work of Christianity. I have taken these two great church systems as a convenient illustration of the point I am making. But the same principle applies equally to all the Christian denominations. The unity which we all profess to want is within our reach. But in order to attain it we must make some denominational sacrifices. What shall those sacrifices be? That I cannot answer in the limits of this article. But how would it do for the Protestant denominations to begin on the foreign mission field? Is it altogether necessary to perpetuate the theological quarrels of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism in heathen lands? Would it not be easy for the missionary societies of all the Protestant churches to find some *modus vivendi*, so that they would either divide the territory up among them in order not to duplicate labor, or agree to present some composite form of fundamental Christianity to the heathen? It is, of course, a praiseworthy thing to make a few sporadic heathens Episcopalians, or Methodists, or Presbyterians; but it would be a much more praiseworthy thing to make a much larger number of heathens acquainted with the spirit of essential Christianity. Let us, then, by all means begin by making denominational sacrifices in the mission field. And the sooner we can bring ourselves to the point of making these sacrifices, the sooner will Christian unity come. With this aspect of the case Christian unity will sound the death-knell of the present

church organizations. As organizations they will have outlived their usefulness. But out of the imperishable elements, and vital truths which are to be found in them, there will be built a grander, nobler, purer, and more catholic organization, which will meet and satisfy all the aspirations of the human heart, and which will be the earthly counterpart of that "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

James B. Wasson.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

OMITTING the German element in Pennsylvania, we shall find that the population is mostly composed of descendants of those who landed here before 1640, the time of the English commonwealth, and of those who have come since 1820. Fortunately for the permanency of our institutions this break of two centuries gave a chance for the vigorous New England stock, descendants of the hardy yeomanry and best elements of English life, to increase and take deep root in the land before the influx of the millions of different modes of thought and life in the last fifty years. From 1820 to 1839 inclusive, 522,069 came to this country; 1840-1849 the number was 1,369,305. This number was doubled in the next decade, when 2,619,774 landed here. The civil war and the industrial depression following 1863 kept down the immigration 1860-1869 to 2,033,014, and 1870-1879 to 2,193,459. But in the eight years of the present decade about 3,775,000 have come by sea together with more than a quarter of a million from Canada, most of them of European birth. By December 31, 1889, we shall have received during the decade fully five millions, or more by one fifth than in the preceding twenty years, 1860-1879.

In 1880 thirteen per cent. of our whole population, and, what is more to the point, fifteen per cent. of our white population, was of foreign birth. If we add to this 15,000,000 more, one or both of whose parents were foreign born, and who, to a very large extent, are not yet Americanized, and we have one half of our white population of foreign birth or parentage.

In much of this immigration there is great good, but in another large portion there is equally great evil. First is the moral evil.

Of the 92,000 in our insane asylums in 1880 there was one in 662 of the native born population of the country, one in 254 of the foreign. Of the 67,067 paupers in our poor-houses and almshouses there was one in 986 of the native born, one in 291 of the foreign. Of the 59,255 criminals then confined in the prisons, penitentiaries, workhouses, and jails, there was one in 938 of the native born, one in 518 of the foreign. One in every 168 of the native American population of New York was reported by the State Board of Charities as in the poor-houses and almshouses in the year ending September 30, 1886, and one in every 35 of the foreign born. In the same State the total number of convictions for crime in the year ending October 31, 1886, according to the report of the Secretary of State, was 89,601, of whom proportionately to their numbers in the State the foreign born were three times greater than the native Americans.

Every one knows that it is our foreign born who indulge in most of the mob violence in time of strikes and industrial depressions. From Southern Italy three times as many men as women come to us, a fact generally considered unfavorable to morality and domestic life. Our consul-general from Vienna writes: "The labor and agricultural classes of Bohemia probably supply the greatest number of emigrants to the United States, and among the Bohemian industrial laborers some of the most violent ultra-socialists are to be found. The great majority of those Bohemian laborers, both of the industrial and agricultural class, are illiterate and ignorant in the extreme."

The political evils springing from much, I do not of course say all, of our immigration are equally manifest. Coming to us often with different conceptions of government, ignorant of our institutions, and alas! in thousands and scores of thousands of instances, controlled by the boodle and saloon element, these people stand in the way of needed improvements in legislation and administration, and by their votes keep our worst men in power. Especially is this true of our cities. It will be remembered that the foreign born are fifteen per cent. of our white population, but in New York they were in 1880 forty per cent., Philadelphia, twenty-four per cent., Cleveland, thirty-seven per cent., Boston, thirty-one per cent., to say nothing of probably another third of foreign parentage, and this proportion is thought to be growing. America has shown wonderful power of assimilation, but does it not look as if she were now receiving a heavier burden than she can wisely or even safely carry?

The economic evils of unrestricted immigration are the greatest of all. These are all summed up in one sentence. A large portion of those now coming to our shores lower the standard of living and wages, increase enforced idleness, and through this incalculable injury to our wage-earners depress their purchasing power, and consequently affect the prosperity of all other classes. In a recent work entitled "Wealth and Progress," which despite some fallacies is interesting and valuable, Mr. George Gunton has clearly shown how important it is to maintain a high standard of living among wage-earners, and that, through the raising of it, will social progress rapidly advance. It is acknowledged by all economists that wages have a strong and almost irresistible tendency to equal the amount necessary to give the workmen their usual necessities, comforts, and luxuries. If, then, a new class of workmen can be introduced, whether Chinese, Hungarians, or Italians, content or at least used to a cheaper mode of life, less comforts and decencies than our American workmen, wages will tend to fall. This has been seen in the Pennsylvania mines where the skilled Welsh and English miners have given way to a horde of low-paid Hungarians and other nationalities, who live in a state of poverty and degradation with which many accounts have made us familiar.

It may be for the temporary advantage of single employers to secure this cheap help, but in the end it reacts on the employing class, since the consequent lower standard of life calls for fewer purchases of goods. Invention is thus repressed, for new machinery is only profitable where there is a large consumption.

Carrol D. Wright found a million out of work in 1886, and ascribed it largely to people coming to us faster than employment could be found. One great cause of enforced idleness is undoubtedly a lack of coördination of demand and supply, or, in other words, the supply is in one place, the demand in another, and it takes time and intelligence and means to travel to the place of demand where the unemployed can obtain work. But the foreign born come to us more rapidly than they can get employment, and through readiness to accept lower wages crowd out those already at work, or themselves have to wait in idleness. By the time they have found work another half million has arrived, so that there is a perpetual congestion of labor in our eastern cities.

A few illustrations of the standard of living of tens of thousands of our immigrants may be given out of a great number at hand. Our consul from Saxony writes of the unskilled emigrants from

that district: "The social condition of the class that emigrate is very low. Many of them huddle together in one room which is full of lice and other vermin. Cleanliness is their worst enemy. They live on nothing but a crust of dry dark bread, and spend all they can earn on strong liquors. Apart from such drink they live on about seven or eight cents a day." In the course of repeated visits to the lower grade of tenements of our large cities from Chicago to New York, I have seen similar conditions among thousands of our foreign born. It is needless to say that other thousands of our immigrants live far better.

Our consul from Palermo writes of the large emigration from that part of Italy: "Emigrants to the United States from this district belong to the laboring or agricultural classes, few of whom, if any, being able to read or write. As a rule, previous to their emigrating, they live in poverty bordering on the extreme, and in a manner not easily conceived by an American or other person not conversant with the poverty-stricken localities of Europe. The huts or hovels in which they live and sleep together with their pigs, goats, and donkeys, and possibly any number of other living things, are not pleasant to look upon, nor is there any desire for a second inhalation of the odor which emanates from them. Ten to fifteen often occupy the same room with or without curtain partitions. . . . Emigrants are principally composed of farm laborers; few, if any, are tenants and none own land. They are all poor, but not, properly speaking, paupers, and live in a wretched condition as previously stated."

As an indication of the standard of living of thousands of our immigrants, the writer will refer to the sight that greeted him one noon in the harbor of Baltimore on board a ship of the Allan Line just in from Bremen with 1,300 steerage passengers. Dinner was being brought on deck and placed in the midst of groups of a dozen or thereabouts who were seated on the floor. Boiled meat and potatoes and soup were furnished. No plate or individual knife or fork was used, but one jack-knife and ladle served each group. First, a piece of meat was cut off and placed between the thumb and little finger of the left hand, and the knife passed on. Then, a potato was taken between the thumb and forefinger, and a spoonful of soup poured over the potato and hand. A bite was taken in turn of meat and potato, varied, when the ladle was not in use by another, by a drink of the soup from the iron kettle. As I watched them, the thought came to mind that the grandchildren of these people might make thrifty, intelligent citizens, but

during the process is there not great danger of a lowering of the standard of those here? Does not the experiment of civilizing these thousands cost too dear if obtained at such a cost?

In the Report for 1885 of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor of New York occurs such a suggestive interview with a Hungarian laborer somewhat more intelligent than the average of his class that I venture to give liberal extracts. After four years in America, whither he had come at an expense of \$16, which he paid by his work after his arrival, he was going back with the princely sum of \$600.

"I have saved enough money; worked very hard; lived like a hog, now I go back to live like a man in my native country."

"How much can a laborer earn in Hungary by working hard?"

"Six guldens a month, or about \$2.40. In America I average eighteen dollars a month."

"How much could you save out of your eighteen dollars?"

"About thirteen dollars a month. It costs five dollars for board, wash, tobacco, rum, and boots."

"Nothing for clothes?"

"I bought one suit in four years."

He estimated that he could easily live at home on the interest of the \$600 saved here.

"If I get back safely I be all right; it is a great risk to come to America; like a big lottery; come 3,000 miles over the sea; work hard here four years, live in a shanty all together like pigs; eat rough black bread, cheap potatoes; drink bad rum; smoke strong tobacco; live with rough bad men and no women; very cold in winter; nothing clean; sleep on straw on the floor; risk in sending money home; I might get sick, might get killed. See, what a big risk — big lottery!"

"Where is your baggage?"

"I have none when I come; I have none when I go. I am baggage. No more."

"Did you ever become a citizen of the United States?"

"No, sir. Out of about 2,000 Hungarians I know in America only one is a citizen."

The highest wages he ever earned in America was ninety cents a day; the lowest, fifty cents. He said nine tenths of all of the Hungarians who come to this country live like himself, and work on new railroads, in the coke regions, in the mines, and on farms.

"What can you say of Italians?"

"Very many come to America under contract like slaves. There is one woman to a hundred men, same as Hungarians. Italians are lazy; come mostly from Naples; work very cheap and spend all they earn; have no object in life; don't do America any good; only cut down wages of American workingmen, like we all do."

"What is your opinion on immigration?"

"America will soon make laws to stop it. So many foreigners come in to work cheap that American workingmen after a while will be so poor they will come to the level of foreign workingmen. Capital in America wants protection. America had better protect its native-born poor workingmen. I got enough for myself. Now I can tell the truth. No care."

Every one welcomes the skilled workingmen to our shores; but of the total immigration of about 1,837,000 males over fourteen years of age 1880-1886 inclusive, 53.3 per cent. were merely unskilled day laborers. Of the total professional and skilled and unskilled immigrants from Italy in 1886, the per cent. of unskilled was 60; from Austria, 67; from Hungary, 86; Ireland, 55; and England 44. Only 36 per cent. from Germany of the total skilled and unskilled workmen were unskilled, and from Scotland 27 per cent. In the above reckoning, farmers, who are comparatively unskilled, are classed among the skilled.

Professor Richmond M. Smith, the able Professor of Statistical Science at Columbia University, has recently shown in a public address the most significant fact of all in this matter of immigration, a fact which explains the present revulsion in public sentiment. He showed both that our own economic conditions in this country had changed so that we no longer had the need for unskilled labor as thirty years ago, and, what is even more important, that the character of our immigration has greatly changed for the worse within that time. That our present population of 56,000,000 is abundantly able from its own natural increase to supply all the demand hereafter for unskilled labor, especially now that our need for railroads has been so fully met, is self-evident. How about the deterioration of our immigrants?

European statistics show that the emigration from Ireland, which formerly came from the thrifty and intelligent of the North, comes now in far the largest measure from the poverty-stricken, illiterate counties of the west of the island. So in Germany. Emigration was at first and for a considerable period from the rich western provinces along the Rhine; now it is chiefly from the poorer population of Eastern Germany along the Polish and Austrian frontier.

Until recently there was hardly any immigration to us from Italy, Hungary, or Poland, which gives us our worst population. How is it now? Our entire immigration from all countries increased 162 per cent. from the seven years preceding January 1, 1880, to the seven thereafter prior to 1887; but the Italian immigration, nearly all of which comes from Southern Italy, the most degraded portion, grew from 35,823 to 142,942, or a gain of 300 per cent., and has more than doubled the past year, jumping from 21,295 in 1886 to about 44,000 in 1887. Equally startling are the figures of our Hungarian immigration, which grew from 5,366 in 1873-1879 inclusive, to 62,593 in 1880-1886 inclusive, a gain of 1,016 per cent., or tenfold! The rapid increase still continues.

The causes are not far to seek, and have been pointed out by many. It is easier to come to this country now than twenty or forty years ago, and consequently poorer and less enterprising people can come. There is no longer a natural selection of the best, the most thrifty and energetic, when all can come.

In several ways has it become easier to settle among us. First: The fare is much less. Where it formerly cost \$50 or \$75, or even \$100, one can now come by steerage for from \$16 to \$30. But not even this amount need be paid by the would-be immigrant. Friends here send funds for the journey to a far larger extent than most Americans have any conception of. Our consul-general from Berlin writes, on the authority of a member of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, of Bremen, that for many a year about sixty per cent. of all emigrants forwarded on board their steamers had gone to the United States at the inducement, and mostly with the assistance, of such members of their families as had already firmly settled in the New World. Our consul from Frankfort writes: "Not less than one half of the German emigrants to the United States emigrate by the advice and assistance of friends residing there." Of course, this in itself is no discredit, but bears directly on the question whether there is now that natural selection of the energetic and thrifty such as largely prevailed years ago.

Nor is this pecuniary help confined to would-be immigrants from Germany. Our consul from Bristol writes that the average amount of money possessed by each family starting for America is little more than \$50. "Nor is this \$50 or \$100 that an emigrant may have, as a rule, his own savings any more than his ticket is bought with his own money. Not two per cent. from this

district, so it is believed, are able to go without the aid of a friend or relative, whose contributions, added to the sum received for the emigrant's furniture and belongings, amount to sufficient for the passage and maintenance until employment comes. Of fifty emigrants booked in one Wiltshire office this year (1886) twenty had prepaid certificates sent on from the United States." The agent of the Associated Charities of Buffalo informs the writer that nearly every pauper of English birth in that city of 230,000 population was assisted to come here by societies and wealthy would-be philanthropists in England.

We have pursued, it seems to the writer, a most reckless, fool-hardy policy in giving away our Western domain so freely to European settlers. It was only two years ago that Wisconsin withdrew from Europe its official land and emigration agents, whose sole purpose it was to increase the tide of migration on to the public lands which we shall before many years sadly need for the discontented and the poor of our own crowded centres of population. Then our land grant railroads have been allowed to send emigration agents all over Europe, and bring in upon us such a mass of people as to have already occupied nearly all of our good farming land. Our public land policy is responsible for a large part of our too rapid increase of immigration. It is not maintained that many of our Western States have not been gainers in the development of their resources by the above disposal of the public domain, nor is it claimed that the descendants of these foreign-born settlers, or even in case of many, like the Norwegians and Swedes, the immigrants themselves do not make good citizens, but it is maintained that the true goal of national development is not growth in population, as many seem to think, but the happiness, contentment, comfort, and, in short, what we call the height of the standard of living, or the civilization of those people, be they few or many, who are already units in our great population of 56,000,000.

Cheapening of transport, due to better economies in the application of steam and assistance of friends, is enabling a poorer and poorer class to come to us. Another important factor is the elimination of the terrors that come from ignorance of this country and from the difference of conditions between city or village life in the Old World and a life of risk and adventure on our frontier, where every one, a few years ago, was put upon his mettle. All this is changed. Now the immigrant finds substantially similar conditions in our numerous large cities or in our mines

and factories as he left at home, save, perhaps, that he can earn better wages here. With this elimination of the terrors of arrival here, and the hardships of the passage, which is now reduced from five weeks by sail to one by steam, we have another reason to account for the increased magnitude and lower quality of our immigration.

Our argument is leading us toward some far more effective restriction than the mere rejection of paupers and criminals, since the full force of the argument relative to the lower standard of living and the cut-throat competition with our day laborers of the unskilled immigrants who constitute more than half of the males over fourteen applies evidently to scores of thousands each year who, while assisted by friends here, are yet not paupers or criminals.

Before considering, however, any methods of restriction, it is important to examine the four reasons usually assigned for our present policy. To restrict is said to be unchristian, a violation of a natural right of migration, a violence to the political sentiment of our fathers that it is our mission to be a "refuge to the oppressed of all nations," and an economic injury. Each of these objections to restriction seems very weak. First, Is it unchristian? Not, if it can be shown, as I have tried to do, that our national life, and consequently our power as a civilizing agency in the world, is lowered. A man may lift three hundred pounds who could n't move three hundred and ten. Is it not, then, just as much our duty to refuse the extra ten pounds, to decline such additional burdens from Europe as will seriously lower the civilization of our own people, and hence our influence for good among other peoples, as it was the duty of Christ often to rest from his work and go apart to the mountains in order better to perform the work He did attempt?

Again. Are we sure that our readiness to take the results of European misgovernment is after all any real benefit to the masses there? As long as we continue to furnish a safety-valve to Europe, so long do we delay the abolition of their standing armies, the reform in many countries of poor systems of land tenure, the necessity of society to educate and elevate the poorer classes. The following two quotations from our German consuls illustrate my thought. The italics are my own. Mr. Raine, consul-general at Berlin, wrote June 19, 1886: "The eastern provinces of Prussia and Posen, especially in the districts where there is a mixed population, Polish and German, showed not only the *highest num-*

ber of emigrants and thinnest population, but also the lowest degree of industry and worst condition of farming, though they have a more fertile soil than many other provinces. . . . It was finally found that the impossibility of many sons of German farmers, etc., considering the many large manorial estates, to get an independent husbandry and homestead, drove many valuable elements away, leaving behind a not desirable class of people." Consul Lang, of Hamburg, writes of the significant fact that there is comparatively little emigration from the more populous districts. "This, no doubt, is due to the development of Rhenish and Westphalian industries, which have furnished new employments to thousands of persons who would have emigrated, but have found in their homes the means of earning a livelihood."

Immigrants have come to us by the hundred thousand from Ireland, but the poverty there seems as great as ever, and we are trying to drain an exhaustless sea. Should we refuse to take a certain very large class who now come to us, by such a method of restriction as will be soon pointed out, we might force a revolution, peaceable it is to be hoped, upon Europe which would attack the causes of poverty and degradation. Looked at thus, restriction is not unchristian, it is a mere question, though an important one, of expediency.

Secondly. Is migration a natural right? Evidently not, since until recently nearly all nations have controlled emigration and immigration. Many do still, as witness the attempt of Germany to detain those subject to military service. Witness, also, our own restriction of the Chinese, which the supreme court does not pronounce unconstitutional.

Thirdly. Though restriction implies a change in our political sentiment, is that in itself a strong argument for continuing a policy which, owing to totally changed conditions, has ceased to be as expedient as in the days of Jefferson? As Hon. Andrew D. White remarked to the writer a few months ago relative to this point: "A generation or two hence will look back with a loud guffaw upon the people of this for allowing themselves to be thus blinded, and will exclaim, 'What fools!'" In fact, we have already greatly changed our national idea. Formerly our boast, as reflected in all Fourth of July orations, was our freedom then and forever from the social ills of the Old World. That boast has been stopped forever. Now we hear references to our national power and world-wide influence. Is not a similar change likely to come over "the spirit of our dreams" relative to the policy of

such unrestricted immigration as the present? Only let us beware of not delaying until too late, until our public lands are all gone, and the standard of life is as low in New York as in London, in the Pennsylvania mines as in Hungary and Southern Italy.

Lastly. It is held to be an economic gain for us to receive every one who chooses to come, for three reasons. First, because of the money they bring. But we have seen that this is too small in the case of the large class we propose to restrict to be worth considering. Where people are assisted to come from friends in this country, or can only bring \$50 to \$100 with them, the direct gain is trifling.

In the second place, it is held that these people bring wants in the shape of desire for clothes, food, etc., as well as hands, and so create a demand for American products. But our Hungarian friend who bought one suit in four years, and lived on five dollars a month, did far less good in creating a demand for American products than he did injury by working for seventy-five cents a day.

The third argument is seemingly much stronger. It is a well-known fact that foreign economists as well as statesmen, particularly in Germany, deprecate emigration as a great loss to the mother-country. It is asked, if the emigrant is such a loss to Germany, is he not a corresponding gain to the country to which he goes? Engels, chief of the Prussian Bureau of Labor Statistics, holds that the cost of raising a child to the age of fourteen, when he begins to produce, is fully \$562, which the mother-country loses when the youth emigrates before repaying this amount from his labor. Startling figures are thus sometimes given of the loss to Germany in a series of years. If we should reckon the loss to Germany at \$562 a head, then she has lost since the Franco-German war, from emigration to this country alone, an amount equal to the billion dollars of the French war indemnity.

To all this, two answers can be made, after admitting that we do gain from the settlement amongst us of skilled and intelligent workmen, such as the Germans are to a higher degree than most of those that come here of other nationalities. First, these figures are vastly exaggerated, since many emigrants are still children, many die, many are women, others are either too old or too weak to be productive from an economic standpoint. But admitting a residuum of truth in the claim that Germany loses financially from her emigration, though her statesmen, and even economists, probably, have largely in view the purely military bearing of

the loss to Germany in recruits for her battalions, we may reply further, as did Professor Smith in the address referred to, that what is Germany's loss is not our gain, *unless we have work for these immigrants to do*. How the matter stands with the unskilled portion of the Germans, and with the far worse classes from some other portions of Europe, seems sufficiently established by the preceding pages and the facts of daily observation.

In short, the argument for restriction is not so much political as in the alien and sedition laws of John Adams's administration, nor religious as in the no-popery agitation of the Know-Nothings, as it is economic. There are serious moral objections to considerable classes of our present immigrants. There are still more serious political objections; but chief of all are the economic reasons for restriction.

Admitting the need of restriction, how shall it be done? Some, alarmed at the Anarchist outbreak in Chicago, would refuse admittance to all who were known as Anarchists abroad, or who would refuse the oath of allegiance to our laws. But it is hard to make any satisfactory test of opinions, while, even if we could, the great economic and political evils outlined in this article of the immigration of the ignorant and unskilled would not be touched. That being the case, the conditions that made anarchy possible in our large cities would not be removed. This must be done. The ignorant must be educated, and the arrival of more checked, before any permanent cure for mob violence and the use of dynamite can be effected. Parsons, Schwab, and Fielden would not have been dangerous if we had kept out from this country their ignorant and degraded followers by a test which should have excluded them, not as Anarchists, but as ignorant and degraded, and had done our duty by the people that already were here.

A second method, and one really effective and simple, is proposed, to wit, a capitation tax of \$50 or more, which would keep out a large portion of the undesirable classes of Italy, Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere. The most serious objection to this is the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, of securing its adoption. The wage-earners of this country, constituting three fourths of the voting population, would probably oppose it as a capitalistic and class test.

One mode of restriction remains, which to the writer seems perfectly practical and exceedingly simple. It has hardly been considered at all as yet. In fact this may be, for aught I know, the first public advocacy of it. But the readiness with which it

has commended itself wherever I have presented it in conversation and lecture in many States of the East and West, and by leaders of trades unions as well as by all other classes with scarcely a dissenting voice, gives the writer great faith in the proposal. It is this: Admit no single person over sixteen, and no man over that age who cannot read and write in his own language.

If the passport system be introduced, as the writer believes best, and no one is allowed to land here without one, then passports should be refused to all who have been assisted to emigrate by any charity organization or governmental agency abroad, or by the agents of any United States land grant railroad, or in fact of any American corporation.

To execute the law and save trouble to the steamship companies, our foreign consuls might be empowered to grant passports to such, and to such only, as can pass the above test, refusing them also to paupers and criminals. A hundred extra clerks, or a small number any way, could make this examination, which would not occupy much time. Or it might be left wholly to the steamship companies. We could examine before the immigrant landed, and as now in the case of paupers compel the steamship companies to return at their own expense all who could not be legally received. These companies would at once institute an examination of all who applied for passage to this country. By such a simple provision nearly all the most undesirable classes of all nations would be excluded. The Swedes, Germans, English, Scotch, and most of the Irish would not be left out to any great extent, and we do not want to exclude them, but the Italian, Hungarian, and Polish emigration would fall off fully fifty per cent. Of this 53.3 per cent. of male immigrants over fourteen who are unskilled day-laborers, the worst half, with their families, would probably be excluded. Then, if that proved insufficient to keep out those of a low standard of living, we could add a trade test, rejecting those without any trade or skilled occupation or profession; but that step might not be necessary for a long time, if at all.

It will be said that the ability to read and write is no sufficient test of one's fitness for good citizenship. Admitted. But those who can read and write are not usually content to live as do many of our foreign born. They demand and enjoy a somewhat higher standard of living, whose importance we cannot appreciate too highly.

That American voters, even if of foreign birth themselves, will

soon favor some such measure, I have no doubt. Many are the number now who, like Mr. Powderly, openly advocate protection to American labor as well as to American industries by a check to immigration. Many more, in fact I believe the majority of the American people, are beginning to think we are making a grave mistake to admit so many, even of those who are not exactly paupers or criminals, to our rapidly growing population.

In Wisconsin, in 1886, the chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics inquired of 756 large firms in all lines of business, and of 39,826 employees in his State, relative to their desire for restriction of immigration. Four hundred and eighty-four firms and 25,266 workmen replied. Of these, eighty-seven per cent. of the firms and eighty-nine per cent. of the employees favored restriction. Forty-six per cent. of the firms and forty-seven per cent. of the men favored higher qualifications for admittance to our country than merely freedom from pauperism, crime, and Anarchist views. Probably a similar investigation in any Eastern State would reveal similar opinions. Rigorous exclusion of the plainly unfit of Europe, and vigorous efforts to make fit and to elevate in all ways those now here, is the growing demand of the present. Effective steps toward its realization may be taken sooner than people expect.

Edward W. Bemis.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE AND THE CRIMINAL LAW.

IT is estimated by Mr. Michael Mulhall that up to 1883-84 the commerce of the world — total imports and exports — had increased 326 per cent. since 1850, measured on the prices of the last-named year. In the same period average prices had fallen about six per cent., or sixteen per cent. since 1870. It does not necessarily follow that decrease in price means decrease in profits. It is certainly not true that fortunes are smaller now than they were in 1850. On the contrary, the standard of individual wealth is far greater than it was even twenty years ago. Concentration of wealth in the hands of a comparatively few is often adverted to as a characteristic of to-day. It is difficult to see how it can be so, if the profits of capital are really decreasing. Nevertheless, it

is undoubted that the direction of prices is generally downwards. The increase of production and expansion of markets has stimulated a competition of which the steady *tendency* is to cut down the net return to each dollar of invested capital. This tendency has met with desperate resistance on the part of commercial investors. Some of their devices to overcome its depressing effect on prices have been colorably legal, others openly, audaciously criminal. Production and commerce are certainly worthy of encouragement, but not at the expense of the axioms of a sound public policy: that production is fostered for the sake of the consumer of products, and that the consumer is entitled, of his own proper right, to all the benefits of a competition among those who bring their wares for him to buy.

These principles were recognized in the common law, by which all attempts to enhance the prices of commodities above the common market-price determined by free competition were criminal. It is evident that within this inhibition of the common law come all those devices known, in modern parlance, as "corners," "business trusts," and "manipulation of the market" in every form. In the vigorous language of Lord Ellenborough,¹ that which "strikes at the price of a vendible commodity in the market is a fraud leveled at the public."

In many of its details the crime of "Forestalling," at common law, is doubtless antiquated. But the principle which declared "engrossing," "regrating," and "badgering" to be offenses against the public welfare is of supreme importance in a civilized community. This principle is thus expressed by Mr. Sergeant Hawkins: "All endeavors whatsoever to enhance the price of merchandise, and all kinds of practice which have an apparent tendency thereto . . . are highly criminal at common law."² "And for that the *forestallarius*," says Lord Coke, "was *pauperum deppressor* and *totius Communitatis et Patriae publicus inimicus*, he was punishable by the common law." It is but one instance of the unwavering hostility of the common law, in *principle*, to the domination of individual or class interests over those of the rest of the community. The ingenuity of man could not contrive a shift to enhance the common price of commodities, "whether by word, act, conspiracy, or news" (says Coke), that an attempt to execute it would not be punishable as a crime.

¹ In *Rex vs. De Berenger*, 3 M. & S. 67.

² 1 Hawk. P. C. c. 80; 3 Inst. c. 89; Bac. Abr. tit. "Forestalling"; 4 *Comyn's Dig.* tit. "Justices of Peace"; 1 Russ. Cr. 168.

Even at the dawn of commerce in the sixteenth century, the disastrous effects of unscrupulous "commercial enterprise" began to be felt, and the 5 and 6 Edward VI., c. 14, defined the crimes of "forestalling," "engrossing," and "regrating," and fixed severe penalties therefor. The statute was declaratory of the common law, but there is this distinction between the common law and a declaratory statute: the former may change to reach new cases as they arise with the changing conditions of society — so that they come within the inhibiting principle, whereas the latter fixes the common law as it existed at the date of enactment.¹ Early constructions contributed to limit the application of the statute, and, moreover, the courts inclined to construe it strictly, as providing a special penalty.² The common law existed side by side, and was not superseded by it,³ but, in practice, for over two hundred years, prosecutions were almost exclusively under the statute. In this way there grew up a body of narrow technical decisions, which are authority upon nothing except the construction of an ancient statute long since repealed. For in 1772, the 12th of Geo. III., this statute of Edward VI. was repealed expressly. About the year 1800, while Lord Kenyon presided in the King's Bench, the famous case of *Rex vs. Waddington*⁴ came before that tribunal. Waddington was prosecuted at common law, tried and convicted, for attempts to "corner" the hop crop in several counties, and by false reports to induce the farmers to hold their hops back from market. His object, of course, was to sell out at his own price, and it seems he was quite successful in his scheme. On the motion in arrest of judgment Erskine was leading counsel for the crown, and Mr. Law, afterwards chief justice, for the defense. Exhaustive arguments on the law were offered on both sides, but the rule was made absolute. Subsequently, another argument was had to suggest to the court that there was no offense, on Waddington's conviction under an indictment for a similar crime, but sentence was passed. And Lord Kenyon ever afterwards laid down the law with strictness on this subject.

Naturally *Rex vs. Waddington* caused a panic in the influential circles interested. Each side had its partisans, and the unpopularity of Lord Kenyon in certain quarters added an element of personal rancor to the feelings of the alarmed bourgeoisie. Lord Ellenborough, who succeeded Kenyon as chief justice, was com-

¹ See Ash, J., in Styles, 190; 2 Dwarris on Statutes, p. 516.

² Goldesborough vs. Whider, 2 Bulst. 317.

³ Cro. Car. 231; 1 East, 143.

⁴ 1 East, 143.

mitted against the policy of enforcing the law against forestalling by his arguments for the defense in Waddington's and similar cases. Moreover, it was Ellenborough's pleasure to discredit both the law and the wisdom of his predecessor when occasion offered. And yet there can be no more succinct and definite exposition of the law and indorsement of the soundness of its policy than Lord Ellenborough's opinion in support of the judgment against De Berenger and his fellow conspirators reported in 3 M. & S. 67.

In 1814 De Berenger and others were convicted of a conspiracy to affect the price of the funds by spreading false rumors in regard to the contemplated peace. A motion in arrest of judgment came before the full King's Bench, and Ellenborough, C. J., said: "I am perfectly clear that there is no ground for the motion. A *public mischief* is stated as the object of the conspiracy. The purpose itself is mischievous. *It strikes at the price of a vendible commodity in the market, . . . it is a fraud leveled at the public.*" Other grounds existed for sustaining the judgment. The other judges alleged different reasons for concurring in the conclusion. The chief justice deliberately chose the broad principle. And the incisive energy of his words, the fact that they fell from Lord Ellenborough, and the force with which the words themselves appeal to common sense, entitle them to much weight. Nevertheless, the party of wealth and superior influence finally triumphed, and by the 7 and 8 Vict. c. 24, the common law against "forestalling" was repealed, with certain harmless exceptions.

There can be no question¹ but that the common law about "forestalling" became and remains a part of the law of the United States in those jurisdictions where the English common law has been adopted and has not been repealed. It is said, however, that there is no reported instance of its enforcement, and this is probably true up to date. In many of the states the criminal law has been codified. In any of the states it is competent for the legislature to pass a statute similar to the 7 and 8 Vict. On the other hand, it is competent for any legislature to reinstate the common law against "forestalling" on a modern basis if sound policy demands it. Is there such a demand?

Trade and commerce have ever been favorites of the law. Why? Certainly not in the interest, or supposed interest, of any individuals or classes, but in the interest of the whole community. The producer or trader or investor is encouraged, not because the

¹ See Dane Abr. c. 205. But observe that the statute of Edward VI. was never common law in the United States. 1 Bish. Cr. Law, § 518 seq.

law invidiously singles him out for protection, but because the more he produces, circulates, and promotes enterprise, the more, *ceteris paribus*, is the entire community enabled to enlarge the quantity and variety of the articles which it consumes and the comforts which it enjoys. But so far as "commercial enterprise" is directed to raising or "sustaining" the selling price of what it deals with, it has ceased to be a benefit to the community, and become the reverse. It is "enterprise" of precisely this kind whose license kindles anarchical and insurrectionary feelings among the mass of the people.

It is safe to say that competition will slacken of itself when profits become unreasonably low. In the mean time, it is well to reflect that there is an average saving to producers of more than forty per cent. in wages over those paid in 1850, while prices have fallen only six per cent.¹ The conditions of production are greatly changed, but the average profits of capital on each workman's production are now larger than they were in 1850. Legitimate enterprise is not in immediate danger of destruction.

The words of Lord Ellenborough carry conviction. An attack upon a market price is a fraud *leveled at the public*. A fraud not less, but more dangerous because it strikes, not at a particular individual, but at any and every one. The very name of fraud is malodorous in the law. Between individuals, the law will override its strictest rules to protect the victim of it. But fraud leveled at the public is a crime and a common danger. Its prevalence in the commercial world is a menace to commerce itself. There can be no question but that sound policy demands its suppression.

The practical difficulties in the way of legislation are great. Sixteenth-century laws will not meet the needs of the nineteenth century. But the principle is more essentially important now than it was then. Every member of society is a possible consumer, and has a right to benefit by the lowest market price. Hence "all endeavors whatsoever to enhance" that price are "a fraud leveled at the public." No case could be plainer of "The People" vs. individuals or classes. The protection of the public against attempts to affect prices artificially is therefore directly within the sphere of the criminal law, if it has any sphere.

The following suggestion for a law is based on § 435 and the much discussed § 79 of the New York Penal Code.

I. A person who shall, with intent to affect the market price

¹ Mulhall, *History of Prices*, London, 1885.

of any merchandise or vendible commodity, security, share, or certificate, of what nature, name, or kind soever

1. Enter into any conspiracy, confederation, or agreement, or attempt individually or with others, to limit or in any way control the free production or sale, or to fix the market price of any such merchandise or commodity, unless authorized thereto by virtue of exclusive rights under the United States laws of patents or copyrights ; or

2. Enter into any conspiracy, confederation, or agreement, or attempt individually or with others, to, directly or indirectly, purchase or sell, or contract to purchase or sell, for future delivery large quantities of any such merchandise, commodities, securities, shares, or certificates ; or

3. Knowingly publishes, circulates, or procures, or in any way furthers, the publication or circulation of any false statement, intelligence, or rumor ; or

4. Does any act whatsoever with intent to enhance such price, is guilty of a felony.

II. A person offending against any provision of the foregoing section is a competent witness against another person so offending, and may be compelled to give his testimony. But such testimony, unless voluntarily given, shall not thereafter be used against the person so testifying, nor shall he be liable to prosecution for the offense as to which he gives such testimony.

III. In an indictment under this act it shall be sufficient to set forth the substance of the conspiracy, confederation, agreement, or attempt charged, and the criminal intent, and proof upon the trial that the defendant was concerned in such conspiracy, confederation, agreement, or attempt with proof of the substantial nature thereof shall be sufficient to go to the jury on the question of intent.

IV. The singular number shall include the plural, and the plural the singular herein ; "person" shall be construed to include "corporations," joint stock companies, and copartnerships.

Ellis G. Seymour.

NEW YORK.

FREDERIC W. H. MYERS, POET AND CRITIC.

THE growing prominence of F. W. H. Myers as an investigator in that strange region lying between science and superstition, lends a new interest to his more purely literary work, while it seems in some danger of pushing that work aside altogether. He was never an author who sought the admiration of the many. His are not the books popular in circulating libraries. They are rather of that select sort worn out by well-considered lending and much carrying about. The enthusiasm of his readers is extreme, but to most of them his personality is an unknown quantity. Some brief biographical detail of his career may therefore be pardoned, especially as it is not without a certain suggestiveness as to his work.

Frederic William Henry Myers was born February 6, 1843, and is now just in that prime when we may reasonably expect most of achievement and result. His home was in beautiful Keswick in the centre of the Lake country, with its mountains, its heroes, its traditions. Grand old Skiddaw and Derwentwater, the gleaming Lodore, Grasmere, and Rydal Mount, were the friends of his childhood, and the beautiful homes of this famous region were the firesides of his family and his neighbors. Here when this child played amid such scenes, Wordsworth still walked in his well-beloved places, a friend and counselor. Here were the houses and fresh traditions of Coleridge and Southey. Here Wilson and De Quincey and the great Arnold had but lately gone in and out, and talked of men and life. Here Hartley Coleridge yet lived his brilliant and ruined life; here were Sara and Derwent Coleridge. Certainly this was an ideal childhood for a man of letters, passed amid such surroundings, in one of those quiet English rectories we have learned to associate with so much of fine living and high thinking. This particular rectory was no unfit companion for its more famous neighbors. Frederic Myers, the father of Frederic W. H. Myers, and the rector of Keswick, was himself an author of no mean repute. His collection of sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, or that able book, "Lectures on Great Men," are perhaps the best known; but of another, "Catholic Thoughts on the Bible and Theology," no less an authority than Principal Tulloch has said, "there are few books at once so devout and enlightened, so spiritually penetrative, and yet so rational." His mother, Susan Marshall, of that Hallsteads

which Wordsworth loved, brought to this home the traditions of culture. Such an atmosphere naturally bred a love of letters, and we are not surprised to find the young man taking prizes at Cambridge where he matriculated at Trinity. Let us not forget that Cambridge was the mother of Spenser and Ben Jonson, of Dryden and Cowley and Waller, of Milton, George Herbert, and Gray, of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Byron, and I know not how many more of the children of song. Surely if the atmosphere of the Lake country bred poetry in its sons, the traditions of Cambridge must have fostered the gift! In 1865, at the age of twenty-two, Myers became a fellow of Trinity, and has since resided in Cambridge, although now in his own home, with wife and children about him. Besides his more exclusively literary labors, he is connected with the Committee of Council for Education, and he is just now prominently before the public as one of the founders and chief promoters of the Society for Psychical Research. He has many friends in America which he visited in 1865, and again in 1878. The published writings of Frederic W. H. Myers are comprised in a very small space. At the most, you can make but six volumes; two or three of poems, two of essays, and a biography. His first book, a long poem called *St. Paul*, had already been reprinted by an American firm in 1868, and in 1870 had reached a third edition in England. This edition was made the occasion of a volume of poems. In 1882 another volume appeared, partly new poems, and partly a reprint of the first, then long out of print. This book is known by the title of one of its longer poems, *The Renewal of Youth and other Poems*. Meanwhile the *St. Paul*, a unique production, had again been published separately—in which form alone it can now be procured. In 1881 Mr. Myers' well-known *Life of Wordsworth* appeared in the "Men of Letters Series," followed in 1883 by two volumes of essays from his hand, gathered in part from the various English and foreign reviews. A just estimate of the *Life of Wordsworth* would require an article by itself, and it must be dismissed at this time with the mere mention of its careful criticism and its thorough sympathetic insight. It is, moreover, full of suggestions built on knowledge that was almost personal, and of fresh detail gathered from family sources.

The greater part of Mr. Myers' prose writing consists of essays. In the present dearth of such writing it is something to come upon an author whose work stands the test of comparison with the masters of his art, said to be the most difficult in literature. Of

the two volumes in which these are collected, — distinguished as Classical, and Modern Essays, — the first contains but three separate studies, on Virgil, on Marcus Aurelius, and the very remarkable analysis of the Greek Oracles. The Modern Essays on the other hand treat of so wide a range as Mazzini, Victor Hugo, Renan, George Eliot, George Sand, Dean Stanley, and Rossetti. These essays are so delightful in their spirit, and in their manner so satisfactory, that in every effort to analyze their qualities the critic insensibly forgets the style in the substance, and finds it difficult to disentangle the art from the result. This is owing somewhat to the nature of the style, which is quiet, contained, and strong. It rarely calls attention to itself, but leads the reader along by smooth paths, in some undiscovered way impressing him with certain convictions, and always leading him to higher levels. It is never sensational though frequently very beautiful. The estimates are sober and exact, at once giving you confidence both in their want of prejudice and in their bases of comparison, for it is immediately evident that this writer speaks from no superficial knowledge. Not only has he an exhaustive knowledge of the particular topic he would treat amounting to a scientific basis of judgment, but he approaches the general subject from the standpoint of a wide learning. His "full academic training" is visible at every step. The classics are his familiar friends rather than the companions of his studious hours alone, not only the great gods of Greece and Rome, but the whole range of this literature. Although his especial masters are, apparently, Plato, Pindar, Lucretius, and Virgil, the literatures of all Europe are at his command — those of Germany, France, and Italy in particular; and it is scarcely necessary to speak of the knowledge of English thought and production inevitable to such a writer. A noticeable peculiarity of his style is the constant recurrence of beautiful or poetic phrases, and no lover of English can fail to notice his careful and often exquisite choice of words. Every one tells. There is nothing superfluous. Each word is fitted to its place. Many are brought from afar to serve some particular end, or to adorn some strong simile, and occasionally one is made to order. His pages are heavy with allusion and illustration — sometimes too heavy, for a familiar acquaintance with literature is required for any due appreciation of his work. His meaning is often deeper than at first appears, and although an obscure allusion proves markedly effective, when its full force is discovered, some loss of strength and direct effect is thus incurred. The style itself is always clear and

simple. There are no involved sentences, and there is no strain upon the attention — unless sober dignity and strength be such a strain. It is lighted up with the beautiful passages already alluded to, and with a charming humor which if not quite as sharp as sarcasm is at least ironical.

Myers does not deal largely with the style, the mannerism, the handiercraft of his subjects, but rather with the spirit of the man, the motive of his work, the effort he makes toward a certain end,— what he sought to do, and what he accomplished. His study is of the work done, rather than the manner of doing it for the most part, and he does this with a sympathetic enthusiasm for his author which is one of his chief distinctions. It is the kind of criticism which, whether laudatory or not, must always be most grateful to the subject. The justly famous essay on *The Greek Oracles* has been well described as "a serious attempt to vindicate the dignity of the Greek belief in Delphi, and to support on grounds of knowledge the Emersonian affirmation that the oracle never fell from lips of cunning." For this reason, as well as for the learning brought to bear upon the facts, the record of the latest discoveries, the observations on the causes of the growth and decay of these remarkable phenomena, and the suggested relation to modern psychic science, it not only attracted much attention from scholars when it first appeared, but in connection with the author's present absorbed interest in the border land between the seen and the unseen, it again takes on an especial interest, as does also the discussion of the supernatural in the *Renan*. Probably the finest of the classical essays is the one on *Virgil*. In it occur the striking description of Rome and Roman luxury, and a notable comparison of the three Latin poets — Homer, Lucretius, and *Virgil*.

In the *Modern Essays* we find an essay on *Rossetti* which the ablest of English critical journals has called the most profound and sympathetic study of Rossetti's sonnets then extant. This writer declares that the "insight into the sources and secret impulses of Rossetti's poetic work is a most remarkable piece of critical analysis." The article on *Mazzini* is a discriminating account of the great patriot's life and career, his influence on Italy, the motives which moved him, and the ideal which he set before men and nations; while Mr. Myers' judgment of *George Sand* is incomparably beyond most estimates of her life and work.

The beautiful elegiac tribute to his life-long friend *George*
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Eliot appeared in the pages of an American magazine.¹ It is here occurs the well-known passage, among the most beautiful in modern literature, describing an interview referred to by Mrs. Lewes herself in one of her published letters.²

"I remember how at Cambridge I walked with her once in the Fellows garden of Trinity, on an evening of rainy May; and she, stirred, somewhat beyond her wont, and taking as her text the three words which have been used so often as the inspiring trumpet calls of men — the words *God, Immortality, Duty* — pronounced with terrible earnestness, how inconceivable was the *first*, how unbelievable was the *second*, and yet how peremptory and absolute the *third*. Never perhaps have sterner accents affirmed the sovereignty of impersonal and unrecompensing Law. I listened, and night fell; her grave majestic countenance turned toward me like a Sibyl's, in the gloom; it was as though she withdrew from my grasp, one by one the two scrolls of promise, and left me the third scroll only awful with inevitable fates. And when we stood at length and parted amid that columnar circuit of the forest trees, beneath the last twilight of starless skies, I seemed to be gazing like Titus at Jerusalem on vacant seats and empty halls — on a Sanctuary with no Presence to hallow it — and heaven left lonely of a God."

Mr. Myers has a gift of epigrammatic statement and of characterization — qualities not always to be expected in one whose special traits are depth of insight and breadth of view. But what he has learned by sympathy and comparison he gathers up into compacted judgment, which expresses the whole result. Some of the briefer of these statements will illustrate this quality.³

"Universality of appreciation," he says, "is in this nineteenth century no longer surprising. Many of us feel that our sympathies have expanded so widely that we can enter into the point of view of the very devil."⁴

"The men who stone one of our modern prophets, do it hurriedly, feeling that they may be interrupted at any moment by having to make arrangements for his interment in Westminster Abbey."

Here is a definition of faith that touches nearest the heart of that much disputed question than has been given to most expounders to discover. Faith he describes as "the steadfastness of the soul in clinging in spite of doubts, of difficulties, even of despair

¹ *Century*, November, 1881.

² May 19, 1873.

³ *M. Essays*, p. 113.

⁴ *M. Essays*, 313.

to whatever she has known of best, the resolution to stand or fall by the noblest hypothesis.”¹ And the same essay (on Marcus Aurelius) contains a sentence suggested by a careful study of Stoicism that is not without a sort of prophetic warning for our own time:—

“ Happy is the philosophy which can support its own large creed on the instincts of duty inherited from many a generation of narrow uprightness, of unquestioned law.”²

Just as clean, clear, and true are his judgments of men, but the best of them are too long for quotation. The very essence of the man — if not the author — is gathered up in this estimate of Dean Stanley.

“ He may well appear as the very type of civilization, of the manners to which birth and breeding, mind and character, add each their charm; which can show feeling without extravagance, and power without pride; which can convince men by comprehending them, and control with a smile. If it had been allowed us to prolong from generation to generation some one man’s earthly days we could hardly have sent any pilgrim across the centuries more wholly welcome than Arthur Stanley, to whatever times are yet to be.”³

Of France this keen critic judges thus, in a review of one of Victor Hugo’s ringing lyrics.

“ A volume could not paint more vividly than these magnificent lines, that characteristic shock and awakening — that divine and unreasonable fire which seems to run through Paris in time of revolution like Rumor through the Hellenic host in the crisis of victory. But where the song ends, the story has too often ended. How often has some noble protest, some just and armed appeal, sounded along the streets and boulevards like the angel’s trump, and has been followed by no Great Assize, no new and heavenly order, but by uncertain voices, angry eyes, confusion worse confounded, and the old round of fraud and tyranny begun anew. It is guidance, not awakening, which France needs — wisdom, not impulse. . . . French of the French. Our sober English counsels fail us when we would take counsel for a nation which can unite so much that we think despicable with so much that all must think great, which can keep her hope high through ruin, through chaos, and through shame, and when she is least leading the nations, will never quit her claim to the primacy of the world.”⁴

¹ *Classical Essays*, p. 213.

² *Modern Essays*, p. 288.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁴ *Modern Essays*, pp. 142–147.

Combined with this power of swift characterization is a constant habit of turning from the subject in hand to discuss those broader topics suggested by its general relations. These observations are so philosophical, so deep, so far reaching, and yet so broad, they so commend themselves to each reader, that they form much of the charm of the essay. For their sake alone it must be read, if for no other. The limits of space will not allow quotation from this most characteristic portion of Mr. Myers' writing. The style is too interdependent, and even the subtle and acute judgments of men and affairs are too much interwoven with the whole text for extracts. The great value of these excursions into philosophy and its relations to life arises from the author's power of generalizing and of relating subjects by their deeper significance, and from his peculiar sympathetic insight. They take up the problems of life and especially of thought; they deal with cause and result. Thus in the essay on Stanley he discusses the true relation of a national church to the state; in the biographical tribute to his friend Prince Leopold he touches upon the possible place and power of royalty in this democratic age. Mazzini is the text for much discourse of Italian politics and their relations to liberty, and in the essay on Renan he discusses miracles and the supernatural. In their keen insight, wide discrimination, sanity of judgment, and especially in their strenuous point of view, they appeal to the same readers as George Brimley and Richard Holt Hutton; but in lucid and beautiful style, those masters of English criticism can bear no comparison with Myers. The peculiar genius of this writer, however, is in a different line. His deep and sympathetic insight into the very heart and soul of those he would study, and his strong feeling for the spiritual, amount to genius. If man be soul and spirit as well as body, there is something in all of us that must listen to the poet and seer, and that high vantage ground may safely be claimed for this author. He himself declares a poet to be "a man whose claim to represent his fellow-men is mainly that his sensibilities are more exquisite than theirs, his ideal higher, his moral sense more true." And in its very essence this may be said of his own writing be it prose or poetry.

Herein is the great value of his essays. With this deep, strong insight he sees the man himself. What he is, what he would be; he can put himself into that man's point of view; but his own outlook, his own point of view, is always the spiritual,—notice that I do not say, the religious, that word is too narrow. It is needless to define what is meant by the spiritual. It is sufficient that the

word is used in its broad sense, antithetical to both physical and intellectual. To Myers the ethical is ever the strongest impulsion in the universe. His is preëminently the spiritual insight. By this high standard he judges, by this deep bond he finds his fellow. His devotion to the highest that is in man amounts to an enthusiasm. His outlook is unto the horizons that bound the infinite. The element of personal sympathy is so strong in his intellectual development, that he does not enter at all into the purely artistic method of viewing life. Where there is no personal common point of view, he can get no common standpoint. Surely as he can project himself into the place of one whose hand he grasps, he can find no mutual ground without this sympathetic chain, and it must be based on a belief in the seriousness of life. It is nothing to him that his author takes a widely differing view from his own—nothing to him that his own genius differs at every point from that of his study. He bridges such chasms with an ease hardly to be expected in a writer of such marked individuality. But let it be some poet or savant who sees no high meaning in this brief existence, who feels no problem in our relations to life and time, and Myers entirely fails to comprehend him, much less to appreciate his work. The judgment of Victor Hugo with his dramatic effects, and his poses and his colossal egoism, may be set over against the most able and appreciative study of Ernest Renan as an illustration of what I have said. Whatever may be thought of Myers' extreme admiration for the genius of Renan, there is no better exposition of his own value and peculiar charm as a critic.

This inability to sympathize with all natures is certainly in some lights a defect, but it heightens power in its own peculiar direction, and if we are to have highly differentiated literatures as well as science, then in some such way as this it must come about. Constant reference has been made to the deep sympathy which is characteristic of Mr. Myers' intellectual habit. To this quality also he owes another defect. He so enters into the standpoint of other men that he does not always leave a definite impression on the mind of his reader. He is often in a tentative frame, reaching out after something more. He sees the thought underlying so many things that he is not always clearly convinced of any one. He feels so strongly the spirit of the age that you rise from some of his work swayed to either side with equal impulsion. It is possible that this is the effect desired; that he believes the Socratic method the best treatment of modern as of the ancient skepticism, for his essays are full of suggestion, and one must leave them with a questioning hard to put down until it is satisfied.

The poetry of Frederic W. H. Myers has varying characteristics and differs widely from itself. As might be expected, much of it is philosophical. This is clothed in stately blank verse, introspective and sometimes involved, but never didactic and always poetical. The long poem called the Renewal of Youth is among his latest published work. In this he discusses the meaning of life and its experiences, its answer to the questioning mind, and its final lesson. Of a similar nature are the verses with the unpoetical title, *The Implicit Promise of Immortality*, — a poem which rolls like an organ peal in the confused murmur of life's highway. This, the beautiful plea for art, with its clear divining of the loneliness and bitter cup that comes to him who would be art's priest, and many shorter poems, may justly be called philosophical. The first impulse is to claim their descent from Browning, but while doubtless there is kinship, it is in no sense that of paternity. The peculiar quality of Myers' verse is all his own, both in his thought and its expression. It is probably true, however, that only those who care much for the divine instinct in the poet, and are willing to listen to his oracles at some cost of attention, will greatly value the philosophical poems. To Myers, the transitory ever gives way to the essential, and his audience must always be largely among those who find much of the value of life in its problems. To such as would look at these problems with the clear eye of the seer, his utterances have peculiar attraction, since all his work, calm and intellectual as it sometimes seems, is not so much thought out as *felt*, and therein lies its direct appeal and its insistent force. Another class of his poems contains more or less of the philosophical element, but subordinated to a treatment which may be called dramatic for want of a better name. Each has a life of its own and a story to tell, but they have not the movement of a proper drama. In this group belongs the half realistic, half mystical description of the Ecumenical Council of 1870 at St. Peter's, and the double poem that pictures the "old tale of many mysteries" at Ober-Ammergau with its thrilling and its thoughts. To this group also belongs the still more dramatic and wonderful John the Baptist. The very conception of this work shows the power to seize dramatic moments. The writer has realized that the hour when the old faith struggled with the new was a time of questioning and doubtful issue. He has seen, with his keen spiritual insight, that for the last prophet of the old dispensation, who was also the first apostle of the new kingdom, there was a battle-ground in his own

heart. Like Savonarola and Martin Luther, John the Baptist felt in himself this conflict of tradition and inspiration, and learned in lonely despair much of what he preached upon the housetop. In this poem Myers has set down the struggling soliloquy in which this last and greatest of the prophets seeks to reconcile his career with his faith, his hope of a Great Deliverer with the reality of Nazareth and Galilee.

Mr. Myers' point of view is always the subjective. Even in his occasional beautiful descriptions of nature he sees her as a revelation. "His is the mood," to quote from his own Wordsworth, "which draws from invisible things an intuition of things not seen." But he is saved from the didactic, and from possible dullness, by the marvelous strength of his imagination. Verily it hath wings at times, and again by some subtle sympathy it enters into the very heart of hearts of the man or occasion it would fain interpret. Somewhat singularly Mr. Myers sings no songs of patriotic pride. Doubt and faith and love and the soul of man are his chosen themes. Much of the lesser work suffers from the ever present intellectual atmosphere. It is not to this author we should look for the greatest of love poems. He is at his best in these efforts when they express his own peculiar quality of spiritual suggestiveness; his exquisite Epithalamium is a very sacramental hymn of marriage. But he cannot see simply and directly, even a love lyric. The passion of love and the paler light of friendship shine for him through the thick mists of thought. None the less, it is a golden glory and a transfiguring light. It is not thoughtful passion, it is thought impassioned. It may be passion still, but it is not the passion we find in the lilting voluptuous verse of Swinburne, nor in Tennyson's well-considered loves, nor yet in Browning's fierce stanzas. Myers is the laureate of the spirit of man in all its many-sided expression, earthward and heavenward, as truly as Browning is the especial poet of the intellect. He has expressed in burning words, that give relief to the hearts of us all, the undefined, unextinguished life, that lives under all our thinking and doing, our loving and hoping. Always there are unseen motives and visionary hopes and strong compulsions, which unacknowledged fight for and against us like the gods of olden fable. These it is which find voice in his verses. It is noticeable that the hand of Virgil is strong upon our poet, and it is everywhere evident that his sympathy is with the Latin genius rather than the Greek. The influence of Wordsworth appears, and still more evidently Coleridge. If other poets are sometimes suggested by the involved

phrase, or a certain dark outlook upon life, or the beauty of the melody, it is not that Myers has copied from them, but, rather, that he has felt like influences producing results which indeed stand side by side with their work, but which have a place all their own.

Very little has been said of Mr. Myers' technique, but not because there is any occasion to pass it over lightly. This poet is a perfect master of his art, as any one may see who will take the trouble to read his own analysis of the mechanism of Wordsworth's poetry, or his elaborate exposition of French metres in the essay on Victor Hugo, or his exhaustive study of the Virgilian stanza. The liquid melody of some of his verses, and the stately march of others, are the result of an art so well and carefully acquired as to become nature. Without entering into any question of rank or value, they may be described as softer and more lyrical than Keats, while they have as truly the indefinable essence of poetry as Shelley or Rossetti or Swinburne. If we speak of melody alone, probably many of them would be classed with the work of the latter poet, though differing too widely from his exquisite music, to be known as belonging to his *school*. One characteristic allying Myers to this group is his fondness for unusual words; obsolete, Chaucerian, coined for the occasion as the case may be, scarcely a page but bristles with them. The critic who was disposed to carp might complain of this habit as pedantic, or even affected, but I confess to finding a considerable charm in this very peculiarity, lighting up a sombre verse, embroidering a stanza, sometimes cutting clean through the involutions of a complicated meaning. I am not adverse to coming upon such lines as "Catching from my joyaunce the surprise of joy," or to hearing of the "golden cargason," the "darkness plenilune," the "light angelical," the "in-navigable way," the "barque and caravel."

St. Paul, the long poem by which Frederic W. H. Myers is best known, was, as has been said, his first published work. It is difficult to understand why he attempts nothing more in this style. If you except some minor verses of his own, it is in a manner which I believe to be unique, after a vain search for any brother to this poem in the whole family of letters. In the words of the Spectator: "It is rare to find a writer who combines to such an extent the faculty of communicating feeling, with the faculty of euphonious expression." This critic goes on to call his control of language and rhythm "consummate," and further says: "His arrangement of words is governed by an exquisite

susceptibility, not only to their sound, but to those more subtle harmonies which depend on their associations." The poem has all the essential peculiarities of Mr. Myers' other poetic work; a deep insight into the heart of man; a high spiritual outlook; a dramatic conception of the environment and its effect on the individual, even an extraordinary skill — at first sight hardly apparent — in catching the personal peculiarity both intellectual and rhetorical. Joined to these are the splendor of classical allusion, the startling accuracy of atmosphere in place and time, the fascinating archaic use of language. All this is expressed in a new and beautiful lyrical metre. But these are only the clothes of the poem. It is the purest and strongest expression of the passion of religion. In one of his trenchant criticisms Myers, speaking of the religious poems of Wordsworth, describes by antithesis his own poem. He says: "These poems embody rather the stately traditions of a great church than the pangs and aspirations of a holy soul. There is little in them whether for good or evil of the stuff of which a Paul, a Francis, a Dominic are made. That fervent emotion akin to the passion of love, rather than to intellectual or moral conviction, finds voice through singers of a very different tone. It is fed by an inward anguish and felicity which to those who have not felt them seems as causeless as a lover's moods; by wrestlings, not with flesh and blood; by nights of despairing self-abasement; by ecstasies of incomunicable peace."¹

Whatever may be the final judgment of Myers' other work, in this he stands alone and unaccompanied. It must, I think, take rank as one of the great poems of the language. It is, however, still so little known in this country, that some liberty of quotation is allowable. Like the John Baptist, this is also a soliloquy, now of the great Apostle to the Gentiles. It is difficult to imagine a more perfect expression of his boundless love, his struggling thought, his passion for souls. The key-note is struck in the brilliant opening passage: —

"Christ! I am Christ's! and let the name suffice you,
Aye, for me too He greatly hath sufficed:
Lo with no winning words I would entice you,
Paul has no honor and no friend but Christ.

"Yes, without cheer of sister or of daughter,
Yes, without stay of father or of son,

¹ *Life of Wordsworth*, p. 156.

Lone on the land and homeless on the water
 Pass I in patience till the work be done.

" Yet not in solitude if Christ anear me
 Waketh Him workers for the great employ,
 Oh not in solitude if souls that hear me
 Catch from my joyaunce the surprise of joy."

As he goes on to depict the struggles of the soul, its self-abandonment, its agonies of repentance, its burning devotions, and its supreme trusts, perhaps no poet has more graphically portrayed the whole spiritual warfare. It is easy to hear St. Paul's own cry over the question of God and the world :—

" What can we do, o'er whom the unbehoden
 Hangs in a night with which we cannot cope ?
 What but look sunward and with faces golden
 Speak to each other softly of a hope ? "

" Thou with strong prayer and very much entreating
 Willest be asked, and thou shalt answer then,
 Show the hid heart beneath creation beating,
 Smile with kind eyes and be a man with men.

" Were it not thus, O King of my salvation,
 Many would curse to thee, and I for one
 Fling thee thy bliss and snatch at thy damnation,
 Scorn and abhor the shining of the sun."

The wonderful review of Hebrew history, the suggestions of pagan learning flashed through and through with the sure promise of immortality, seem to lay bare before us, the very mind of Paul. Blanco White's great sonnet is equaled—some have said glorified—by the brilliant passage describing the awaking of Adam, and we have few stanzas anywhere more beautiful than those describing sunrise on the *Ægean*. The brief allusion to John the Baptist has been described as "an image splendidly characteristic and permanent."

" John, than which man a sadder or a greater
 Not till this day has been of woman born,
 John like some iron peak by the Creator
 Filled with the red glow of the rushing morn.

" This when the sun shall rise and overcome it
 Stands in his shining desolate and bare,
 Yet not the less the inexorable summit
 Flamed him his signal to the happier air."

Not the least remarkable note is the success with which the

author has caught the style of his hero. The involved thought, the sudden change of subject, the entire break in sequence, the cumulative treatment with which we are so familiar in the Epistles — all are there. The triumphant burst of melody and faith with which the poem closes repeats the striking stanza of its beginning and leaves the sympathetic reader astir with intellectual and spiritual excitement. Nevertheless, it is true — to the admirers of this poet it seems incomprehensibly true — that this poem does not always commend itself to the public at large ; not infrequently the unsympathetic reader finds nothing in it, or questions the accuracy of its statement or the source of the poet's knowledge ! Myers' audience will always be decided by a certain common standpoint, especially his poetic audience. Possibly nothing other than this can altogether be desired.

It has been already said that of late we have neither criticism nor poetry from Mr. Myers. Since 1883, with the single exception of the personal article on Prince Leopold, he seems to have devoted his literary energies entirely to the cause of the Psychical Society, in whose behalf he has published several articles. With such tendencies and characteristics as have been noted, the reader will not be surprised that he seeks to resolve the doubts of men — perhaps his own — and to make the spiritual an actual present fact. Far be it from one who sympathizes strongly with the agonizing desire, and who sees the overwhelming occasion for such proof, to undervalue this work. I cannot but feel, however, that we have no other critic who occupies just the place held by Myers, and no other poet who sees such visions. In this age of materialistic writing as well as thinking we shall die of thirst if no hand offers us living water. We shall sink down to critical machines, or become only scientific observers in the world of letters as well as of matter, if we are to have no interpreters of the spirit of man. Valuable as the Psychical Society may prove itself, we can hardly spare to its work the whole time of so great a critic, and so unusual a poet, as Frederic W. H. Myers.

Anna Laurens Dawes.

PITTSFIELD, MASS.

AMONG THE VILLAGES OF SOUTH INDIA.

OH, the balmy bliss of these early November mornings! It is the luxurious life of the tropics, softened by the touch of ocean, cooled by the breath of far-away winter.

Somehow I have seemed to be in the South of Africa, rather than of India. The low state of these aboriginal tribes is perhaps the cause of this.

What they call the port of Tuticorin is, like other harbors on this Eastern coast, far out at sea, almost out of sight of land. But they bring us ashore in boats, and then follow the visits to these villages, which are among the most striking features of India.

First come the gala days at Palamcottah, the centre of the Tinnevelly mission. The festivities are in welcome of Mr. Wigram, Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society of England, who, with his son, is making the same tour as I, in reverse order. Being in his company, I share a little of the glory of the occasion, and, best of all, of the company of Bishop Sargent. Fifty-seven years he has served, and his heart is as young as his years are ripe. One evening we are shown how the native evangelists preach their singing sermons, singing with a low, instrumental accompaniment. The next morning over two hundred native helpers — pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc. — gather and make known their work and their wants to Mr. Wigram. There is a call for more earnestness in the religious teaching of the schools, and for better theological training.

At night I find myself in a bullock-bandy, a kind of two-wheeled, covered family carry-all, without seats, entrance from behind, with mattress spread on the bottom. Every few miles the oxen are changed. We make about five miles an hour. I remember the palm-trees, the tropical skies, and the jolts. And I remember the warm Scotch greeting of the Duthies at Nagercoil the next morning. Thirteen Bible women come to the veranda and tell about their work among heathen families. Then twenty or thirty poor wives and widows seat themselves in double rows along the veranda, take out their pillows, pins, and thread, and show how they make all kinds of that beautiful lace which is a specialty of the Travancore mission, and for which Mrs. Duthie receives orders from all parts of the world. Close by are the flourishing school for girls and the mission seminary. Across the

road is the great church, where on Sunday I speak to eight hundred native Christians. Mrs. Murray Mitchell describes this work in her book on Southern India. But I can tell no more, for I am in the Madura mission, and it is of these villages I wish to write.

The city of Madura, with 75,000 inhabitants, is a centre of Christianity, as it is one of the centres of Southern Hinduism,—that strange compound of philosophical pantheism with the idol-nature and devil-worship of these primitive tribes. Who that has seen it will ever forget the gorgeous, sickening splendors of the Madura temple? It is wonderful for its thousand-columned hall and grotesquely carved monsters; still more wonderful for its stately ceremonies, its stone gods, its slowly striding elephants, its oily priests, its devout and superstitious worshipers.

Three miles away is Pasumalai, where the large mission school for boys is undermining the temple. On Sunday evening while I spoke without an interpreter to the students, nearly all of whom were Christians, it seemed as if the future leaders of their country were listening, and soon to put their thought into regenerating deeds. How can I omit to speak of that mission compound in Madura where are so many dear friends, and where I found such a delightful home? My theme, however, is different. I had seen schools and churches, and churches and schools. But these were results, the ultimate of mission work rather than its very beginning. The distinguishing feature of the Madura work is that it is a country mission, well occupied by one-family-stations distributed in the midst of crowded villages. It was the itinerating work among these villages that I wanted to see, so here I am at Battalagundu, far away from the railroad, or any other mission station.

A typical place. Over yonder the Indian village. Here, just outside, near enough for work, far enough for quiet, the mission compound. This is the centre from which proceeds every variety of mission work, into which streams every form of heathen need. In front is the lawn, surrounded by flowers, shrubs, and tropical trees. Here lawn tennis may sometimes call our friends to much needed recreation. The most noticeable thing about the bungalow is the great encompassing veranda. It is the room of all work, the gathering place of the family and the schools, the border ground, or neutral zone, between the privacy of home and the publicity of the street. It happens to be a birthday, and here the friends and school-children file up to present congratula-

tions to the ripe missionary matron—and their limes. Each brings a sample of this simple, refreshing fruit until the large basket is filled. It makes a better lemonade. Here the girls sit at their sewing in the afternoons. And here, when they are gone, we discuss missions and home, and—Andover.

Just back and on either side are the two schools, the boys' school, and the girls'. They are entirely separate in their living and studying. Mrs. Hume, in Bombay, has the only co-educational school I found in India.

In front, to one side, is the little oblong box of a church. It is whitewashed, has two or three chairs, mats on the floor for seats, and an American organ. Yesterday I saw about a hundred and fifty people sitting on these mats, singing, worshiping, listening while I talked. The singing was good. Sometimes it was American music, perhaps of Moody and Sankey, perhaps "Johnny comes marching home," with sacred words. But it was best of all, to my taste, when they sang their own native music and lyrics.

The children are fairly intelligent, and especially graceful and amiable. I have never seen women more queenly in their bearing than some of these Hindus, who have always carried burdens on their heads. Never shall I forget the dignity with which, in a women's meeting which I had addressed in this same church, the pastor's wife rose to her feet,—which were bare,—her Indian cloth gracefully thrown about her, and with open face and noble mien uttered a few words of thanks to those at home who had sent missionaries to help the women of India.

Our first visit outside is at *Bethany*, called a Christian village, and containing about a hundred and fifty inhabitants. We drive into a cluster of perhaps thirty low, mud-walled, straw-thatched hovels, tumbled indiscriminately together with narrow, winding lanes between. Word has been sent that there will be a meeting, and the people are collecting at a hovel, whose only distinction is that of being a little larger than the rest.

Here we, too, stop, for this is the church! Better than the lodgment of the infant Christ, no doubt. A mud wall, whitewashed within and without, though needing another coat, incloses a space twenty-five feet long, ten feet wide, seven feet high, and covered by a thatching of straw resting on a bamboo frame.

Within are a chair, a table, and a box. That is all, except a few pieces of matting on the mud ground. For windows, holes in the wall on three sides, a door being on the fourth side. This has been made by the Christians, with the help of their heathen neighbors, at a cost of about twenty dollars.

Some of the men before us have left their work and come from a distance to attend this noon meeting. Soon we have about forty persons, all outcast Pariahs, seated on the ground before us, the men on one side, the women on the other, and children on all sides. The men are not over-burdened with clothing, but the women wear a decent covering of red or white cloth.

Three men have learned to read, and two women. Several of them are Christians, one man being a Roman Catholic. But most of them are heathen, although they have given up idol-worship and the heathen marks. One obstacle and another prevent their coming to Christ, though not to church.

It is natural enough, I suppose, for us at home to imagine that when these people are converted they are not so very unlike our own converts. But the new life here is in most cases a mere germ hidden away in filthy, ugly soil.

There they sit, these Pariahs, hovering on the confines of light and darkness, their dark skins symbolizing their condition. They sing; we talk; I tell them how far I came to see them, and how much farther Jesus came for their sake. Mr. Chandler speaks of death, and of Christ's death for them. I ask if they do not want something better for their children than heathenism, and one or two reply that they do.

Then Mr. Chandler turns to the women and asks if they have kept from using bad and angry words for the last few days. They are shy and make no answer, but one or two husbands speak up saying *their* wives have n't used much bad language. Mr. Chandler proposes that all who are willing to promise for the next week to refrain from cross and filthy words should hold up their hands. They talk together, but make no reply. Then I say to them that when I go home I want to tell my countrywomen that they have made this promise. After some hesitation nearly every hand goes up. We have a little more talk, the native pastor offers prayer, and all quietly disperse.

Mr. Chandler tells me that in closing up a native Christian's affairs after his death he found in his diary such entries as this: August 7th. "To-day I beat my wife." August 25th. "Beat my wife again."

When one faces these people in their ignorance and degradation, assertions as to their future state seem hazardous, and much of our speculation about it a mockery. One thing is certain, — that the best of such heathen are sunk low down in darkness, animalism, dulness of mind and deadness of soul, and it is only the infinite,

redeeming, regenerating love of God that can make anything out of them. Their weakness is greater even than their ignorance, for some who come to see and admit the truth of the gospel — like many in our own land — are deterred from accepting it by the great obstacles in the way. The cost seems too great. They cannot see the infinite gain.

Then we visit two other villages. In one of them, where the missionaries have been unable to establish a preaching station, an educated Pariah, who could not succeed in starting a school in Bethany where he lived, asked leave to come and make an attempt on his own account. As a result, with a little help, he has a small shed of mud wall and matting roof just opposite his own cottage, where he teaches his own children with some heathen boys. I photographed the two hovels, with the ragged urchins standing around in mingled fear and curiosity.

Another morning we have a noon-service in a village rejoicing in the name of Ammapatti, where a bell on the roof awaits a tower to hang in. The audience is more high-toned and intelligent than the one in Bethany. They have been expecting me, and one after another comes up, makes his salaam, and presents me with a fresh lime, which it seems is the thing to do. Nearly all are Christians. The sermon consists of a talk, with questions and answers. This is hand-to-hand fighting with heathenism.

A few houses away is the Roman Catholic Church, and just beyond, the Hindu temple. The former they call the temple of Mârie; the latter, that of Mariam, or the hideous goddess, Kali. Many are said to patronize the two interchangeably.

The Pariahs and Pullars, the lowest of the castes, are thrust out on the outskirts of the mud village, usually on the east side. These castes shun one another as much as they are shunned by all. The lower down they are, the more they make of their differences. That is human nature, I suppose.

To-night, I am still deeper in this village work. I have left that dear patriarch, Father Chandler, and Rev. J. P. Jones, the genial, earnest, and successful leader of the work in Madura city, has come out to meet me at the railroad station, Sholavanthan. It seems strange enough to itinerate in Indian mud villages, close to a busy railroad station. But Indian village life is one of the most fixed of institutions. Some of these railroads have been built in a straight line, in the belief that, as elsewhere, the village would stretch out to meet the railroad. But the villages seldom

move. They are built close to the source of water supply, and that concerns them more than does the locomotive. The consequence is that the village population of India is hidden from the ordinary traveler, who sees little more than parched plains and crowded cities.

A short walk, however, brings us into a town of eight or ten thousand inhabitants, mainly Hindus, with a sprinkling of Mohammedans. As I write, we are passing the night in a mud and thatch box of a building, which serves as a school-house, prayer-house, and rest-house. A cot-bed has come out from Madura for me, while Mr. Jones sleeps in the bullock-bandy, his traveling-hotel. The house-servant, who is an excellent cook, supplies us with food prepared at a little heap of coals which he utilizes as a range. This tropical climate has the strange effect of making me hungry and ready to eat once in every three or four hours through the day.

We had been expected here, so arrangements had been made for a little reception. As soon as we had seated ourselves just outside the prayer-house, the girls of the Hindu school came marching up, two by two, to the number of twenty. They deployed before us, then recited their verses in the Tamil language, told Bible stories of Moses and other worthies, and disappeared. Soon a sound was heard which seemed to be that of the Scotch bagpipes. As it came near, we saw no kilts, however, but Indian clothes, and the music resolved itself into the notes of horns and drums. One of these instruments I have learned to call the *unicorn* or monotone, because it sounds but one deep note as the accompaniment to a polytone, another wind instrument which is rich in several notes. The tam-tam, a dull sort of bucket-drum, is struck with either stick or finger, and does an astonishing amount of business.

Behind the band came two boys, one bearing a huge bunch of the celebrated plantains of this neighborhood, the other with a plate of pomegranates and more plantains. After them came others with garlands. Then the boys of the school and a mingled company of Christians and Hindus. They salaamed, hung the chrysanthemum garlands about our necks, carried the fruit within the house, and — American-like — called for a speech. My companion enlarged upon my travels, expressed my thanks, and called upon the boys for Bible verses.

It was strange enough to see those Hindu boys stand there in front of their Christian teachers and recite verses, which are dyna-

mite to Hinduism, while their Hindu fathers looked down approvingly, and even urged them on when they hesitated. These men with the sacred ashes striped across the forehead would have nothing to do with Christianity, and would persecute their children if they accepted it. Yet they encourage them to attend the Christian schools. There are 136 such village schools in this Madura mission, with 3,700 scholars, of whom only 580 are Christians. They are steadily undermining Hinduism, but the fathers, in their desire to secure some education for their children, are apparently blinded to these results.

After a short prayer-meeting in the house, and a consultation with the four helpers, we sally forth for street preaching, the two Europeans followed by the helpers walking through the business street, and stopping at a central point. The fiddle strikes up, and several Tamil hymns are sung.

The numbers of men and boys about us grow to a crowd with a few women on the outskirts. Soon we have between two and three hundred pressing close upon us. One helper speaks earnestly on our wretched condition as sinners; another, on the need of a Saviour, breaking out into song as he speaks. The third describes the way to the Saviour, and the fourth talks about Christ. My friend sums up the whole, and translates my testimony as one traveling around the world, who has discovered no land without sin, and has found only one Saviour.

Many thoughts came to me as I watched this quiet and attentive throng of listening Hindus. The people are accessible and friendly, and there should be hundreds of such services where there is now one. Although most come like the Athenians, from curiosity, a few are interested.

After we had given tracts to eagerly outstretched hands, a man, who had heard that the Bible contained an account of this religion, offered twelve cents for a copy, which he soon afterwards received. A few years since most would have been afraid to take even a tract.

Then we walked through the town, and, passing from the Pariahs and Pullars, came to the Brahmin Street, broad, quiet, clean, shaded by cocoa-nut trees. There was a mark of distinction as plainly impressed upon it as upon an old aristocratic New England village, like Litchfield or Northampton. Intellectually, socially, and physically these Brahmins are far above the common people.

Going to another village we had noon-service. Then the bandy

went on to Madura, and we across country, through the rice-fields, attended for some distance by the native Christians, who guided us through the flood, and carried us in their arms across the muddy rice-fields, where there was no path, until we reached the railway station.

The subject of the missionary prayer-meeting at Madura that night was, "The hindrances to spirituality in the life of the missionary." Nearly every one in the room spoke. I was let into the heart of this strange, struggling, glorious life. At four o'clock the next morning, while most were still sleeping, I was on my way farther North. It was another of those unmatched Indian mornings, which come to the earth as cool and soft and fragrant as the touch of an angel's wing.

I am now writing at Dindigul in whose vicinity I have just attended a church dedication. How like, yet how unlike! There was the congregation, Solomon's dedicatory prayer, and other services as at home. But the church was another mud and thatch oblong box of a building, with three holes in the walls for windows and a fourth for the door, a hard mud floor, with seats for the pastors and the guest, and mats for the congregation of forty sitting on the ground.

The building cost twenty-five dollars, four fifths being given by the natives. It could not hold more than fifty or sixty persons. But it was new, clean, well whitewashed, and decorated with sugar-cane stalks, young cocoa-nuts, plantain buds, and other productions. We were garlanded as usual, and presented with plantains, limes, betel-nuts, and leaves. An intelligent, well-clad company of men, women, and children were before us.

The whole service was memorable, a bright spot in the midst of heathen filth, hatred, and superstition. That many in the village are nominally Roman Catholics does not seem to make any difference. The gospel has not taken hold of them, and the heathenism appears the same, only using the cross for its superstitious sign.

We were escorted in and out of the village by the band with its three instruments, as before, the monotone, the polytone, the tam-tams, and the bagpipe effect,—all this while passing along the dry sandy bed of a river, and through fields filled with that cactus curse, the prickly pear,—emblem of heathendom, while above was the cocoa-nut for Christianity.

My host at Dindigul is Dr. Chester. It would be hard to find

a better specimen of the enterprising, many-sided, yet thorough, determined, and well-trained Yankee, — that Puritan class, who, having colonized the rocks of New England, now sail forth on other more modern May Flowers in order to evangelize the world. He is system and punctuality personified, with nothing of the pedant. I have visited his hospital, where even the high-caste men seek his help, — for high caste does not avert disease, — his schools, his English service for the English community, his dispensary at Madura, which he visits once a week, and his outlying country congregations. Sunday morning, after an early breakfast, we started at about seven for a village church where we were to hold Communion service. It was difficult to reach, as the road, part of the way, ran through bushes of the prickly-pear, and we were obliged to walk a good deal. But at the needed points, some native would meet us, and taking the box of books and the Communion service, would guide us on our way.

The village contained about forty houses, two thirds of the inhabitants being Protestants. They are of a caste a little lower than the Vellalas.

The people seemed intelligent, and they have an excellent native pastor in Mr. Colton, who told me that he observed February 22d as a day of prayer for America, and who sent his greetings to our Sunday-schools and Young Men's Christian Associations, and also to our fathers and mothers.

In the Sunday-school a man was pointed out to me, who, years ago, in order to gain merit, vowed to wear his head in an iron cage until he had built a certain water-tank. While thus bound and cramped, a Christian catechist talked with him. The man was convicted, took off the cage, became a Christian, and moved here, where he now does evangelistic work. The cage is in Boston, in our missionary rooms.

On this morning a man brought a special contribution of two and a half rupees, — about one dollar, — the price of a ram which he had sold. It was a most interesting occasion, and as I spoke to this little flock, and the Lord's Supper was celebrated, precious memories thronged upon me of the meeting of the American Board in Boston and of its Communion season.

When we left the village the people accompanied us a mile on the way, and then brought half a dozen young cocoa-nuts which they opened to give us the milk. The native deacon reminded Dr. Chester for the hundredth time that the trees which bore them had been planted at the very time when he began to preach

to them years before. I told them, with my thanks, that my people at home could not have furnished me with such a drink.

These itinerating visits have opened up most strange and important phases of the mission work. India is a land of rural populations. That population in South India is largely aboriginal, of Dravidian stock. Their villages are among the most primitive and fixed of social institutions. Each village seems to be a compacted mass of Hinduism, with all its ignorance, superstition, caste-feeling, pride, and bigotry. But those icy fetters melt before the breath of Christ, and the first genuine native Christian who abides in his village becomes a new social centre, about which slowly organizes itself a reconstructed community. The centre enlarges to a Christian Church, the hovels become Christian homes, the community a Christian village. Is not this the way in which India is to be won for Christ?

Edward A. Lawrence.

DINDIGUL, SOUTHERN INDIA.

EDITORIAL.

OUR RELIGIOUS INHERITANCE FROM ISRAEL.

II.

In a former article it was shown that we derive from the religion of Israel our Monotheism; our faith in the Living God who is not only just but loving; who, in all the forces of nature and history, works righteousness, and through it, redemption; and our confidence that the world-purpose of God will finally be achieved in the universality of that saving knowledge of Him, which is the true Religion.

We have also from the same source our belief that this saving knowledge of God is not gained by the way of reflection on the constitution of the universe, or on the data of man's own consciousness, but only by revelation. The direct result of the wisdom of the world was that it knew not God. Our conception of revealed religion is of Israelitish origin. Men have, indeed, everywhere believed that the powers above them give signs, which men can interpret, to understand the present, or foretell the future. But divination, though it be conducted by priests, and though the oracles be the holiest shrines of the Deity, is not a religious phenomenon at all,—in the sense in which we understand the word religious,—and would not be so if its predictions all came true. Prophecy, on the other hand, is religious, because it shows “what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of him,” and unfulfilled predictions, the existence of which prophecy itself teaches, do not detract in the least from its worth or authority. For threat and promise are not the substance nor the end of prophecy, but means to moral and religious ends, and, in their very nature, conditional. The Book of Jonah contains a powerful protest of the spirit of prophecy against the narrow and mechanical theology which demands that, to save the credit of God and his prophet, every prediction must have its fulfillment.

This summary of our obligations to the religion of Israel is by no means exhaustive. We might show, for example, that Prophets and prophetic historians no less than Apostles and Evangelists recognize and emphasize the truth that Faith is the corner-stone of religion. If Judaism had for the moment lost sight of this first principle,—the peculiar peril of all nomistic religions,—St. Paul could appeal to the Old Testament itself against the error: Abraham was before Moses, the Faith-religion of the prophets above the Observance-religion of the ritual code.

We might also remark the preparation in the Old Testament of more than one of the conceptions which we regard as the peculiar distinction of the New,—for instance, the inwardness of the true salvation, and the intimate personal relation between God and the religious man, which is symbolized for us by the words Father and Son. Or, again, we might outline that specific preparation for the New Covenant in the Old which

we call generally by the not very appropriate name Messianic Prophecy. We must, however, pass over these things here, with mere suggestion.

Christianity inherited these fundamentals of religion from Judaism, but it made them its own by putting itself into them. Thus in relation to monotheism, Christianity, in the deeper meaning which it gave to the Fatherhood of God, but, above all, in the significance of the incarnation itself, the fact that in Christ God was reconciling the world unto himself, has in itself the corrective of the deistic tendency of Judaism; such an exaggeration of the notion of the divine transcendence as hardens and impoverishes the thought of God.

So, again, if enlarging knowledge of nature must destroy the childlike simplicity with which men once recognized the immediate intervention of the Living God in everything which befell them, so that their whole world was an expression of his favor or displeasure, we have far more than a compensation in the clearer realization of the spirituality of God, through which we recognize Him in the Unseen.

The prophets fused morality and religion into one. They impressed it upon the conscience of men that because Jehovah is the God of right, He cares a thousandfold more for conduct, for character, than for worship. They showed men that righteousness is not mere justice, but includes charity; that it regards not only our neighbors but ourselves. It was a great part of the work of Jesus to teach the inwardness of true morality. The Sermon on the Mount, with its contrasted: "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time . . . but I say unto you," its clear and unqualified assertion that the crime of a crime is not the overt act but the secret passion, marks a new era in the history of ethics. Marks it, not because the thought was new, but because He gave it the whole energy of religion.

The prophets had made it the *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiae* that Jehovah is the God of salvation. As has been intimated, the personal and spiritual character of salvation and its present reality were not conceptions which lay altogether beyond the horizon of the Old Testament saints. But upon the whole—and this is the characteristic difference which goes deepest into the nature of the Old and the New Covenants—the good things in the possession of which salvation consists were for Israel national, material, temporal; in Christianity, personal, spiritual, eternal.

The conception of the universality of the true religion is of necessity transformed by these advances. A universalized Judaism in which Jerusalem, the city and temple of Jehovah, is the religious centre of the world, to which all nations flock to worship him and keep his feasts, as in the second chapter of *L. iah*, — a universal local religion, — carries a contradiction in itself.

But when Jesus said to the Samaritan woman who asked Him, as the most important of all religious questions, whether Jehovah wanted to be worshiped in Gerizim or in Jerusalem: "The hour cometh when neither

in this mountain nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father. . . . God is Spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship in spirit and truth," declaring the emancipation of the true religion from the bondage of times and places, its independence of the political and ecclesiastical organization, He made it universal indeed.

So in other things. Revelation acquires a new meaning as we read how the Word became flesh and dwelt among men; Faith gains its distinctively Christian content; Death and beyond are robbed of their terrors by the resurrection.

Standing in this relation to the religion of the old covenant, Christianity, by all that it is, authenticates the source from which it avowedly derives the whole circle of its fundamental truths. The superstructure is the best and all-sufficient witness to the foundation on which it is built. Christianity vindicates for the religion of Israel, therefore, the character of the *true* religion and of *revealed* religion.

That Christianity came as fulfillment to the Law and the Prophets of Israel, not to the religion of Greece, or Rome, or India, or ancient Germany, was because in Israel alone there were — not religious truths — but true religion. And the fact that nowhere else was such a religion found puts it as a mere matter of fact in a category by itself. When we ask the explanation of this fact we can find it only in one place. The uniqueness of the religion of Israel is grounded in its character as *revealed* religion. It is not merely a natural development, under favorable conditions, of the religious possibilities in man; it is more than a mere providential guidance of that development. When the prophets introduce their message, "The word of Jehovah came unto me," they have given the only sufficient answer.

The relation in which Christianity stands to the religion of the Old Testament suggests another consideration which is of the greatest importance for a sound judgment of the Old Testament. It is that the true religion is not from the beginning the absolute religion, that there are stages in its development, in which the relatively imperfect is succeeded by the more perfect until the final consummation. We see this within the Old Testament itself. It is the product of a living religion; and of one which, unlike Christianity, or even Mohammedanism, did not come into existence full-grown. It has an infancy and a childhood, as well as a strong manhood, and it is just because we can follow this growth that the study of the religion of Israel, and of Judaism, has such a unique interest and value.

We see in this history the nature and method of revelation. It is not an unmediated communication of religious truth in all its fullness, without regard to man's readiness or ability to receive it. It is a divine education, in which, starting with those thoughts of God and his will for man, which belong to all men at a given stage of culture, it leads from them and by means of them to higher truths, correcting, enlarging, and deepening; advancing in equal step with the religious consciousness of

the race, which it itself unfolds ; *never* — that is its limit as we learn it from Christ himself — never opening to its disciples the things which they are not capable of apprehending, and making over into life. Just as a mathematician who takes a pupil to initiate into the perfect doctrine of numbers does not begin with the mysteries of quaternions, but takes his man where he finds him, if it be only at *once one is one*, and leads on only as fast as with sure step, confirmed by abundant practice, the disciple can follow to the heights.

If, then, at any stage before the final one, Christianity itself, we find what, judged by the standard of Christianity, we must call imperfections in the religious or moral teachings of the older religion, such as Jesus himself exposed in many points, for example, in its divorce laws, or the *lex talionis*, we have only to reflect that this is precisely what we have to expect ; that the opposite discovery would only prove that we were not dealing with true history.

The perfection of every stage of growth, short of the highest, consists merely in this ; not that it is identical with the highest, but that it is in the line of development to it. When we apply this principle, the most serious of the difficulties of the Old Testament, which lie on the side of its ethics, or its theology, will be found to be confirmations. To explain them away by subtleties of interpretation, or to deny them, is the worst service any one can try to render the Word of God.

With the conviction, thus surely founded in our Christianity itself, that the religion of Israel is a revealed religion, while we recognize that, just for that reason, it has a historical development, we pass to the consideration of the questions which concern the record of this historical revelation, that is, the collection of books which we call the Old Testament.

In all its diversity this literature has a unity which we must be superficial readers indeed if we do not feel. It is pervaded throughout by the spirit of the true religion. We are not equally aware of this in all parts of the Old Testament ; sometimes miss it, perhaps, where Jewish readers felt it most strongly. It is not always the same, but has itself a historical development parallel to that of revelation. The spirit which breathes in the Stories of the Judges, for example, or of Saul, is very different from that of the second part of Isaiah or the Psalms of the Second Temple ; and yet it is one spirit, and, as the Spirit of the true religion, we recognize it as divine. The word which best describes the books themselves is that which the New Testament gives. They are θεόπνευστος γραφή.

Looking at the Old Testament more closely, we see that inspiration is not confined to any one species of literature, that it does not exclude any. The Book of Job, for example, is one of the master works of the creative imagination. Under the dramatic fiction of Job's controversy with his three friends, a question of eternal interest is discussed ; how to "justify the ways of God to man." It is not history, but it is truer than history, for it is more universal. Whether the author invented his characters, or,

as is more likely, took the names and something of the fable from current sources, is of no moment. It is the spirit which makes the book, not the facts. The same spirit can give truth and power not only to pure fiction, as in this case, but to popular story, with the modifications and accretions which an oft-told tale always suffers. In so doing inspiration does not vouch for the historical accuracy of the facts. That is a purely historical question, to be determined by the usual criteria. The existence of legend, or myth even — in the proper sense of the word — in the Old Testament cannot be said *a priori* to be incompatible with inspiration. On the contrary, is it not true, that just as pure fiction, as in the parables of Jesus, is often a better vehicle for the truth than fact, so legend may be, just because it is more plastic to the impression of the religious spirit, more instructive than the most accurate annals?

The first chapter of Genesis does not cease to be worth more than all the discoveries of geology, even if, as Professor Dana shows, science knows all the facts far more accurately; does not cease to be unique among cosmogonies, even if Assyriological research should be a hundred-fold more successful in tracing affinities with Babylonian myth.

If we know what we have in the Old Testament we shall have no fear that scientific discovery, historical criticism, comparative study of religions, in a word, the progress of our knowledge of the world and man, will in any way weaken the evidence it contains of divine revelation, or lessen its usefulness for teaching, reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness. Only we must not transfer the "difficulties" of our theories about Scripture to the Old Testament itself.

THE "EXTRA-CHRISTIAN" HABIT OF MIND.

IN an address to the Cambridge (England) Young Men's Christian Society, delivered March 24, 1870, on Descartes' "Discourse touching the method of using one's reason rightly and of seeking Scientific Truth," Professor Huxley used the following language: —

"When you did me the honor to ask me to deliver this address, I confess I was perplexed what topic to select. For you are emphatically and distinctly a *Christian* body; while science and philosophy, within the range of which lie all the topics on which I could venture to speak, are neither Christian, nor un-Christian, but are extra-Christian, and have a world of their own, which, to use language which will be very familiar to your ears just now, is not only 'unsectarian,' but is altogether 'secular.' The arguments which I have put before you to-night, for example, are not inconsistent, so far as I know, with any form of theology. After much consideration, I thought that I might be most useful to you if I attempted to give you some vision of this extra-Christian world, as it appears to a person who lives a good deal in it, and if I tried to show you by what methods the dwellers try to distinguish truth from falsehood, in regard to some of the deepest and most difficult problems that beset humanity, 'in order to be clear about their actions, and to walk surefootedly in this life,' as Descartes says."

We have always thought this the clearest and most discriminating, as it is certainly the most just, of all the statements which attempt to define the attitude of a large class of men of specialized work toward Christianity. Much injustice is done many of this class by ignoring or wrongly estimating the *temper* of their minds. They are not aggressive in their thinking. They pursue their investigations without theological bias as without theological interest. They are not Christian, neither are they un-Christian, in the sense of anti-Christian. They are, as Professor Huxley says, extra-Christian in the range, and, we may add, in the method, of their thought. To say this of them designates them more carefully than to say of them that they are agnostic. Agnosticism implies thought upon the subject in respect to which the agnostic position is taken. It is the well-considered conclusion to which the mind arrives after its investigations or reasonings.

But the extra-Christian habit of mind, which comes through continuous thinking in an extra-Christian world, while it is to be carefully discriminated from any mental habit which is hostile to Christianity, has nevertheless its serious consequences. The most serious effect is upon the thinker himself. The mind borrows from the world in which it thinks and upon which it impresses its thought. Action and reaction are equal. The world which furnishes the subjects of thought prescribes the energies of the mind which are to be called into activity, developing some to the possible neglect or suppression of others. The long disuse of certain powers of the mind may lead to incapacity for their use. The same person may thus afford the most striking contrasts in the action of his mind,—here wise, far-reaching, logical, and conclusive; there unintelligent, illogical, scant, and feeble. In some respects an extra-Christian world is a narrower and more narrowing field of thought than an anti-Christian world. It may be better for the intellect to oppose the interpretation of certain historic facts and principles than to ignore these facts and principles. Here, of course, lies the great danger of a purely scientific culture. The mind under the exclusive activity of some of its powers may form positive distastes which mark the decline of those powers which are uncultivated. The loss, we are to remember, is of intellectual enjoyments and attainments and convictions, not necessarily of the moral sense. Religion is chiefly concerned with this habit of mind as affecting the apprehension of its truths. If religion exists as a decisive fact in those who live in an extra-Christian world, it is because it is relegated to the feelings, where it survives without the support of the intellect.

No one, within the range of our reading, has given more direct or candid testimony to the mental effect of a complete absorption in the subjects of scientific culture than Mr. Darwin in his Autobiography. What can be more ingenuous than the following account of the decline, through disuse, of some of the finer qualities of the imagination:—

"I have said that in one respect my mind has changed during the last twenty or thirty years. Up to the age of thirty, or beyond it, poetry of many kinds,

such as the works of Milton, Gray, Byron, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Shelley, gave me great pleasure, and even as a school-boy I took intense delight in Shakespeare, especially in the historical plays. I have also said that formerly pictures gave me considerable, and music very great, delight. But now for many years I cannot endure to read a line of poetry. I have tried lately to read Shakespeare, and found it so intolerably dull, that it nauseated me. I have also almost lost my taste for pictures or music. Music generally sets me thinking too energetically on what I have been at work on, instead of giving me pleasure. I retain some taste for fine scenery, but it does not cause me the exquisite delight which it formerly did. On the other hand, novels which are works of the imagination, though not of a very high order, have been for years a wonderful relief and pleasure to me, and I often bless all novelists. A surprising number have been read aloud to me, and I like all if moderately good, and if they do not end unhappily — against which a law ought to be passed. A novel, according to my taste, does not come into the first class unless it contains some person whom one can thoroughly love, and if a pretty woman, all the better.

"This curious and lamentable loss of the higher aesthetic tastes is all the odder, as books on history, biographies, and travels (independently of any scientific facts which they may contain), and essays on all sorts of subjects, interest me as much as they ever did. My mind seems to have become a kind of machine for grinding general laws out of a large collection of facts, but why this should have caused the atrophy of that part of the brain alone, and on which the higher tastes depend, I cannot conceive. A man with a mind more highly organized or better constituted than mine would not, I suppose, have thus suffered; and if I had to live my life over again, I would have made a rule to read some poetry and listen to some music at least once a week, for perhaps the parts of my brain now atrophied would thus have been kept active through use. The loss of these tastes is a loss of happiness, and may possibly be injurious to the intellect, and more probably to the moral character, by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature."¹

Or again, the following extract from a letter, June 17, 1868, to Sir J. D. Hooker: —

"I am glad you were at the 'Messiah': it is the one thing I should like to hear again, but I dare say I should find my soul too dried up to appreciate it as in old days; and then I should feel very flat, for it is a horrid bore to feel as I constantly do that I am a withered leaf for every subject except science. It sometimes makes me hate science, though God knows I ought to be thankful for such a perennial interest, which makes me forget for some hours my accursed stomach."

It would be manifestly unfair to take advantage of confessions made with such charming candor, and in such real humility, to draw from them conclusions of a religious nature, but as one reads on he finds himself prepared for a corresponding result in respect to the intellectual apprehension of religion. The decline in the power, quite as much as in the will, to grapple with the vital problems of religion becomes pathetic. The judgment grows less firm and decisive. As Mr. Darwin himself expresses it, "My judgment often fluctuates." The untrustworthiness of

¹ *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin* (Appleton & Co.), vol. i. pp. 81, 82.

the mind in determining the higher questions of being appalls him. Though entertaining the conviction that "the universe is not the result of chance," still "the horrid doubt always arises whether the convictions of man's mind, which has been developed from the mind of the lower animals, are of any value or are at all trustworthy. Would any one trust in the convictions of a monkey's mind, if there are convictions in such a mind?" The Duke of Argyll, in a conversation with Mr. Darwin in the last year of his life, referred to certain contrivances in nature which Mr. Darwin had himself pointed out, which seemed to him the sure evidence of "the effect and expression of mind." "I shall never forget Mr. Darwin's answer. He looked at me very hard and said, 'Well that often comes over me with overwhelming force; but at other times,' and he shook his head vaguely, adding, 'it seems to go away.' The religious drift of Mr. Darwin's mind was steadily toward indecision. We should expect to find in his religious views the utter absence of dogmatism, for there is no trace of dogmatism in his scientific statements, but the contrast between the vigor of his mental operations in the field of science and his comparative helplessness elsewhere is painful. He finally describes himself as an agnostic: but his type of agnosticism seems but the feeble expression of a mind of such original capacity.

A less serious effect from the extra-Christian habit of mind than that produced upon the thinker is to be found in the unnatural value which it assumes in the public thought. The public seldom discriminates between opinions which represent thought upon religious subjects and those which represent thought only on other subjects. The reputation of a thinker in the "extra-Christian world" is transferred at its full value to any opinions which he may choose to offer upon the problems of the Christian world. If these opinions represent the same amount of thought as his critical or scientific opinions, they are of the same value; otherwise not. Mr. Darwin, in the fine genuineness of his nature, was at constant pains to declare the comparative worthlessness of his opinion on the problems of theology. Thus in reply to a letter from Dr. F. E. Abbott of the "Index," asking for an expression of his views, he writes: "I have never systematically thought much on religion in relation to science, or on morals in relation to society; and without steadily keeping my mind on such subjects for a *long* period, I am really incapable of writing anything worth sending to the 'Index.'" In a letter to a lady, who had proposed certain philosophical questions, he says, "My opinion is not worth more than that of any other man who has thought on such subjects, and it would be folly in me to give it;" adding this sentence, "I may however remark that it has always appeared to me more satisfactory to look at the immense amount of pain and suffering in this world as the inevitable result of the natural sequence of events, that is, general laws, rather than from the direct intervention of God, though I am aware this is not logical with reference to an omniscient Deity." The same spirit, though more impatiently expressed, pervades the famous letter written

to a German student: "I am much engaged, an old man, and out of health, and I cannot spare time to answer your questions fully — nor, indeed, can they be answered. Science has nothing to do with Christ, except in so far as the habit of scientific research makes a man cautious in admitting evidence. For myself I do not believe that there has ever been any revelation. As for a future life, every man must judge for himself between conflicting vague probabilities."

Not every extra-Christian thinker expresses himself in the modest and cautious tone of Mr. Darwin, but the principle holds good, whether acknowledged or not, that an opinion upon serious subjects is good only for the amount of thought which it covers. Value cannot be transferred, except under large reduction, from thought in one department to thought in another and different department. Religion suffers most from the violation of this principle, as it is so generally supposed that one who really thinks about anything can express an opinion about religion. Religious experience may be the common possession, but religious thought reaching to a rightful influence and authority is the product of the same discipline which gives a public worth to any form of private thought. A great religious thinker, an Augustine, a Pascal, an Edwards has earned the right to the influence which he exerts through his religious opinions. Should he choose to express himself upon subjects in what Professor Huxley calls the extra-Christian world, his opinions would pass for precisely the worth of the knowledge which they might represent. In like manner the man who decides to do his thinking in this extra-Christian world must abide by its limitations. When he leaves it he cannot take his full influence with into other realms. The real and the sufficient value of his work to the Christian world lies in the contribution which he may have made to the sum of truth. In this connection we add, in fit recognition of the work of Mr. Darwin, from whose "Life and Letters" we have drawn the moral of our thought, the words which he penned in retrospect after he had completed his Autobiography. "As for myself, I believe that I have acted rightly in steadily following and devoting my life to science. I feel no remorse from having committed any great sin, but have often and often regretted that I have not done more direct good to my fellow-creatures."

COMMENT ON CURRENT DISCUSSION.

THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM OF THE COLLEGES AND THE MINISTRY.

In the discussion attending the observance of the "Day of Prayer for Colleges," little reference was made to the effect of the elective scheme upon candidates for the ministry. It is doubtless too early to trace the effect in detail. The scheme has not as yet become sufficiently systematized in the various colleges to give uniform results. But two results are already apparent, one bearing upon the choice of the ministry, the other upon theological education.

The elective system, to the degree in which it is carried out, throws back in time the choice of one's profession. When the system covers the entire college curriculum it transfers the choice to the secondary school. Possibly there may be an advantage to the ministry in this transfer. The early consecration may be as sincere and ardent as the later and more mature choice, and may take up into itself the gains of the intervening years. But of this we do not care to write. We wish simply to call attention to the fact, that under the working of the elective scheme the secondary schools must become the real recruiting ground for the ministry and the missionary service.

The effect upon theological education is beginning to show itself in this way. More and more men are entering the ministry after having given their college study to general discipline and culture, or to preparation for some other profession. Many of these men have the full equivalent, in attainment and discipline, of a theological preparation. They lack the technical requirements. They are not fitted to use a theological curriculum. But they desire nothing less than the full course. An abridged course will not satisfy them. They wish to be as well fitted for the ministry as they have been, or would have been, fitted for some other profession. There seems to be no other way than for the seminaries to provide such men with the proper technical preparation. It may yet be necessary for the seminaries, which do not abridge their courses, to add a fourth year of study at the beginning. This year would allow the proper training in philology, and in many cases, what is quite as much to the point, in philosophy and ethics. We conceive that the elective system will not inflict a very serious harm upon the seminaries if it shall compel them to do more of the technical training for their own after work.

THE NEW FIELD FOR EUROPEAN EMIGRATION.

It is not to be expected that America can long continue to be a receptacle for the overflow of Europe. While much territory remains to be occupied, the ground has been "gone over." The newspapers of the Western coast are already noting the disappearance of the pioneer. Meanwhile, as the land becomes populated, the city absorbs a larger proportion than formerly of the inflowing current. This gives rise to dangerous social conditions. There is a growing sense of the need of greater discrimination in the quality of foreign life to be received into the now sensitive political and moral life of the nation. Congress simply reflects the public thought in its discussion of measures for the restriction of immigration.

The arrest, in the near future, of the tide of emigration westward leads the English press to point out the prospects of Australia in the succession to America as the depository of the "overspill" of Europe. The following extract from the London "*Spectator*" of January 28, is of interest, especially in the comparisons and contrasts which it suggests between the typical American and Australian of the future: —

"There is every reasonable probability that in 1988 Australia will be a Federal Republic, peopled by fifty millions of English-speaking men, who, sprung from the same races as the American of the Union, will have developed a separate and recognizable type, resembling yet differing from that of their cousins in the Western Atlantic. The most difficult work of settlement, the provision of food, houses, instruments, and organization sufficient to tempt and to provide for increasing multitudes, has been accomplished ; and soon the stream of emigration, that wonderful outflow of annual armies from Europe, leaderless but obedient, guideless but unfaltering, will turn to Australia in increasing volume. The distance is shorter every year. A knowledge of Australian chances is spreading on the Continent. Emigration to America is being checked by the rise of that feeling of which the Bill — the first of a long series of Bills to come — brought into Congress this week by Mr. Palmer is the expression ; and within ten years the overspill of Germany and the United Kingdom should alike be pouring into the South, where there is room for all and land for all, and the sky is clear and the air is warm, and the apple and the grape will flourish side by side. The populousness is almost certain, and so is its organization as a Republic, and, as we should predict, a Republic with certain aggressive tendencies. Australia will have no boundaries but the sea, no neighbour who dare threaten her, no absolute need of a foreign policy of any kind, but she will have one none the less. Her people will differ from the American. They will not be so entirely agricultural as the Americans were : they will be horsemen, not gig-drivers ; they will have almost from the first more ambition, and they will in many ways have at once a greater largeness of view and more unscrupulousness. . . . It is difficult, without mere dreaming, to predict what the future of this society will be ; but we venture to think that it will approximate much more closely to the Italian than the American type, — that is, it will be democratic, but not hard. The early Americans, whose influence is only just dying out, were men of austere temper, who led on an ungrateful soil — New England is worse to farm than Scotland — lives of permanent hardship. They had to fight the sea, the snow, the forests, the Indians, and their own hearts ; and did fight them all, if not with complete success, at least with persistent hardness. The Australians, we conceive, with a more congenial and altogether warmer climate, without Puritan traditions, with wealth among them from the first, and with a habit of communion with Europe, will be a softer, though not a weaker people, fonder of luxury, and better fitted to enjoy art, with an appreciation of beauty which the Americans have never shown, and with not only a love for literature, but a power of producing it in original forms. They will be a people growing and drinking wine, caring much for easy society, addicted to conversation, and, though energetic, with a keen desire for a well-ordered and restful life. They will not, unless compelled, allow their women to wear themselves out, as the Americans do ; will, in truth, we suspect, with that climate to mould them, and that indifference to expense which is one of their marked characteristics, never be happy without servants, a difference which, as the servants must be dark, may profoundly affect their civilization. They will, in short, desire easier and larger lives than the Americans do, will be less persistently laborious, and will feel — we note this already in Australians almost as strongly as in Californians — a sort of worship for their climate. The note of discontent which penetrates the whole American character will be absent, and, if not exactly happier, they will be more at ease. All Australian development will be affected by that difference,

and as they cease to be British, Germans, and Irish, the men of the new type which will gradually be born, the distinctive and separate "Australians" will be as distinguishable in England as the Americans, and distinguishable also from them. The typical Australian will be a sunnier man."

THE AGREEMENT OF COMMENTATORS.

The "Study in Biblical Interpretation" by Professor Hincks, with which the present number of the REVIEW opens, recalls the demand which is made from time to time for proof texts to support the theory that the knowledge of Christ may be given hereafter, as a motive to their salvation to those who have not known Him in this life.

The answer to this demand is twofold. On the one hand, it must be allowed that the burden of proof rests with those who affirm the universal decisiveness of this life, irrespective of the knowledge of Christ and his redemption. For if this be a doctrine of Holy Scripture we must expect it to be clearly, positively, and continuously taught. It is inconceivable that such a doctrine should be left to inference or implication. But upon examination no such proof as ought to be expected appears. Not more than five or six passages have been adduced by the advocates of the dogma, and these have been shown to be irrelevant. Scarcely a passage quoted in favor of the dogma of the universal decisiveness of this life has the support of intelligent Biblical scholarship. On the other hand, we should naturally expect that the theory of the knowledge of Christ hereafter for those who have not known Him here would be taught by implication rather than by direct and constant affirmation, by incidental reference to a fact, as in 1st Peter, rather than through current exhortation. There was no reason why this theory should have been brought to the front. It was not needed in the preaching of the gospel to those who were hearing the gospel, and it had not been denied. *There was no heresy of a limited Christianity to combat, and therefore it had not then, as now, an apologetic value.*

But in further reply to the demand for proof texts, the question may be asked, Why the agreement of commentators in support of the theory of a future knowledge of Christ for those to whom that knowledge is impossible in this life? If the theory in question has no Biblical support, how does it happen that Biblical scholars so generally interpret the passages which bear upon the theory in its favor? We refer to the favoring testimony of Biblical scholars as so general, that there may be said to be agreement among them at this point. And that we may not be charged with overestimating this agreement we quote at some length from commentators of most acknowledged authority and use, both critical and popular.

"From all then which has been said, it will be gathered, that with the great majority of commentators, ancient and modern, I understand these words to say, that our Lord, in his disembodied state, did go to the place of detention of departed spirits, and did there announce his work of redemption, preach

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salvation in fact, to the disembodied spirits of those who refused to obey the voice of God when the judgment of the Flood was hanging over them. Why these rather than others are mentioned, — whether merely as a sample of the like gracious work on others, or for some special reason unimaginable by us, we cannot say. It is ours to deal with the plain words of Scripture, and to accept its revelations as far as vouchsafed to us. And they are vouchsafed to us to the utmost limit of legitimate inference from revealed facts. That inference every intelligent reader will draw from the fact here announced : it is not purgatory, it is not universal restitution; but it is one which throws blessed light on one of the darkest enigmas of the divine justice ; the cases where the final doom seems infinitely out of proportion to the lapse which has incurred it. And as we cannot say to what other cases this *κηρύγμα* may have applied, so it would be presumption in us to limit its occurrence or its efficacy. The reason of mentioning here these sinners, above other sinners, appears to be their connection with the type of baptism which follows. If so, who shall say that the blessed act was confined to them ?" (Alford on 1 Peter iii. 20. Lee & Shepard. 1877.)

"The interpretation of this verse depends upon that of the passage vv. 19, 20, in the preceding chapter with which it corresponds substantially. According to the most ancient, and now most generally received, view of that passage, the sense of this verse must be that the gospel, that is, the glad tidings of the triumph over death by our Lord's death and resurrection, was preached to the dead — a term which certainly extends further than to those who perished in the Deluge, and possibly to all past generations — with the intent and object of teaching them that although they should have been judged according to the law of nature and of God to suffer death in the body, they might be quickened according to a special putting forth of Divine grace, in the spirit, and stand with spiritualized bodies before the judgment-seat of Christ. Cf. Rom. viii. 16. If this interpretation is correct, it is evident that we must take the verse in connection with the first verse of the chapter ; it shows that the law there laid down is universal ; no one can be admitted into the kingdom who has not suffered in the flesh, undergoing the penalty for sin, and who has not also been spiritually quickened. This view does not imply that those to whom the announcement was made were transferred into a different state from that in which they had died, but that the meaning and effect of their punishment was made known to them, and the access to God, which Christ's death opened to all, was offered to them. This is connected also with the preceding verse as showing the universality of the Final Judgment." (Canon Cook on 1 Peter iv. 6. The Bible Commentary. Scribner & Armstrong.)

"But is it not allowable to think with Luthardt that among the multitudes who have gone down, and who go down daily to the place of the dead without having known the gospel or expressly rejected it, there will be individuals who shall yet accept it ; for it is said that it shall be preached to them also (1 Peter iii. 19, iv. 6), and Jesus positively declared that there is still pardon in the other world for the man who has not committed the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (Matt. xii. 32)." (Godet on 1 Cor. xv. 26. T. & T. Clark ed.)

"Who willetteth that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. For one is God, and one is mediator between God and man, a man, namely, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time."

"God's saving purpose is directed towards all men, without exception. If He

wills the salvation of all, He must will that all come to a knowledge of the truth, because this is the indispensable means to this end. This indispensability appears in the way of salvation ; there being but one mediator between God and sinful men, — so that no one can be saved except through Him. He gave himself to be a ransom for all men, that is, the universal desire of God as regards human salvation took this single form of expression. The testimony of this universal atonement follows in due time, that is, the present time since Christ's mediatorial work has been completed; and so can be announced as fact. The gift implies the testimony, since the salvation implies coming to the truth." (Weiss' comments on 1 Timothy ii. 5 and 6.)

" But we must not weaken the fundamental principle ; out of Christ there is no pardon and no salvation. Every consideration of God's justice and mercy, and every impulse of Christian charity leads us to the hope that those will be ultimately saved who without knowing Christ in this life have unconsciously longed after Him as the desire of all nations and of every human soul, but it can only be through an act of faith in Christ, whenever He shall be revealed to them, though it be only on the judgment day. We cannot admit different terms of salvation." (Philip Schaff, in Lange's Commentary. Matt. xxv. 40.)

" We take it, then, to mean that directly Christ's human spirit was disengaged from the body He gave proof of the new powers of purely spiritual action thus acquired by going off to the places or state in which other disembodied spirits were (who would have been incapable of receiving direct impressions from Him had He not himself been in the purely spiritual condition), and conveyed to them certain tidings : He 'preached' unto them. What was the substance of this preaching we are not here told, the word itself (which is not the same as, *e. g.*, in chap. i. 25) only means to publish or proclaim like a crier or herald ; and as the spirits are said to have been disobedient and in prison, some have thought that Christ went to proclaim to them the certainty of their damnation ! The notion has but to be mentioned to be rejected with horror ; but it may be pointed out also that in chap. iv. 6, which refers back to this passage, it is distinctly called a 'gospel' ; and it would be too grim to call that a gospel which (in Calvin's words) 'made it more clear and patent to them that they were shut out from all salvation !' He brought *good* tidings, therefore, of some kind to the 'prison' and the spirits in it. . . . Many expositors, afraid of the consequences of admitting that there could be a possible gospel for men who died impenitent, have supposed that the imprisoned spirits to whom Christ went were the less wicked people destroyed by the Flood ; others that they were those who had some notions of penitence when the rain began to fall ; but these ideas are foreign to the text, which only tells us that they were disobedient, and adds nothing to extenuate their crime. They are a typical instance of men who died 'as evil-doers' (ver. 17)." (Canon Mason on 1 Peter iii. 19, 20, in Ellicott's Commentary. E. P. Dutton & Co.)

" The thought that Christ was ready to judge the great company of the dead, as well as those who were living when the gospel was preached by his messengers, leads the Apostle back to the truth which had been partially uttered when he had spoken of the work of Christ in preaching to 'the spirits in prison.' The question might be asked, How were the dead to be judged by their acceptance or rejection of the gospel when they had passed away without any opportunity of hearing it ? He finds the answer in the fact that to them also the gospel message had been brought. Those who were disobedient in the

days of Noah are now seen by him as representatives of mankind at large. Of some of these his Lord himself had taught him that if they had seen the wonderful works which attested His ministry and mission 'they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes.' Was it not a natural inference from those words, confirmed by what had been revealed to him as to the descent into Hades, that that opportunity had been given?" (Professor Plumptre on 1 Peter iv. 6, in the Cambridge Bible for Schools, edited by Dr. Ferowne.)

"The gospel was preached to the dead, in order that the judgment might be extended to them. But this implied a preaching whose immediate purpose was conversion." (Huther on 1 Peter iv. 6, in Meyer, 4th edition. T. & T. Clark ed.)

"Because the full decision [respecting destiny] according to the common apostolic teaching only comes at the judgment, but in the judgment according to 1 Peter iv. 17, only those will be given over to condemnation who shall have received and rejected the gospel, the condition of the souls to which Christ went in Hades regarded as only provisional. The opportunity must be given them before they can be judged, either of becoming participants of the divine life through accepting the gospel, or of forfeiting salvation by rejecting it." (Messner, *Die Lehre der Apostel*, 136, with reference to these passages.)

"The doctrine gives to the appearance of Christ an entirely universal reference to humanity, not merely to contemporaries and those coming after, but also to those gone before. And this reference applies not only to the judgment on quick and dead, but also to the preaching of salvation, so that those departed before the appearance of Christ do not meet with a final decision of their lot without having the salvation in Christ previously offered them." (Schmidt, Bib. Theol. N. T., p. 395, on 1 Peter iv. 6.)

"Now we not only know from 1 Peter iv. 6 that according to the Apostle's teaching the gospel is actually preached to all the dead, but the passage does not seem to teach a doctrine that is new to the readers. Peter assumes Christ's *descensus* to be as well known as the other facts of his life which he only mentions by the way." (Weiss, *Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff*, 229, trans.)

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

IT is impossible not to be thankful for the progress of the past year which America has made in Oriental studies. In papers, in students, in societies, in projects, this progress is intelligent and unmistakable. There are signs that financial patronage is not to be withheld from these fruitful researches. We do not need to take the pathetic tone of a committee of the Asiatic Society who say, "a considerably larger Mohammadan population is governed by this country than is subject to any other rule, yet it is almost literally true that nowhere is less encouragement offered to the student of Mohammadan languages than in this." The encouragement of a career is offered to the student of Semitic languages in more than one American college. Professor Harper's crusade in Hebrew and the cognates has been thirty-five per cent. more successful than a twelve-month since. The idea of Oriental fellowships and professorships is moving from our larger to our smaller seats of learning. American faces

and names are growing familiar in the class-rooms and work-rooms of Continental scholars. European experts are coming, first as visitors, then as residents, to our university towns. Never was the outlook more hopeful for the founding of American schools and the undertaking of American expeditions in the East.

— The American School of Athens, in its fifth year, took to itself a local habitation. The "Athenaeum" of March 26, 1887, tells us of the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone. This was March 12. Professor D'Ooge, of the University of Michigan, was then director, with seven students from Amherst, Beloit, Columbia, Michigan, Trinity, and Yale. Representatives of the Government and of the German School tendered their cordial congratulations. So did the English School, which stands near it, on the southern slope of Lycabettos. Professor Merriam, of Columbia, is now the esteemed director. He cannot enjoy the healthy site and magnificent view of the completed structure before spring. Lodgings and library will then enable his students to work under advantages heretofore unknown. Meanwhile the good American work at the Sicyon theatre is unremitted.

— Professor Putnam's inference from certain jade ornaments of Central America was that they came from China. Identity in color, hardness, and specific gravity in the stones was argued to imply identity in local source. Professor D. G. Brinton, M. D., thinks otherwise. No doubt ancient commercial relations between the countries would explain the specimens. But this hypothesis is not necessitated by the facts. For notoriously jadeite specimens from the same place differ widely in all the points noted by Professor Putnam. Certain forms of jade were frequent in Mexico and Central America, and obtained there. Because the Chinese, with their many varieties of jade, can match a sample found elsewhere, it does not follow that the sample in question comes from China.

— The idea of the Happy Isles and the plant of immortality among the Chinese does not appear before the fifth century B. C. Ling Chi,—the Polyporus Lucidus,—with its red stem is the famous plant. The name, was due to its swift growth. A Chinese philosopher, Lie-Tsz, describes the Islands thus: "The buildings are gold and jade. The trees are pearl and coral. All have fair flowers and pleasant fruit. Men who eat of the fruit never grow old nor die. The inhabitants are immortal and holy. Their number is past counting. The isles are not joined to the bottom of the sea, but float with wind and tide. When the natives prayed to be stationary, God was angry at first, but then sent them fifteen sea monsters who carried the islands on their heads, till after sixty thousand years they became fixed. Day and night, however, the inmates fly from one to another."

— It is interesting to find Solomon's judgment in Chinese. A recent writer in the "Academy" cites an ancient tale, how two women came before a mandarin, each protesting she was the mother of a little child they brought with them. The puzzled mandarin consulted his wise wife. After five minutes she said: "Let the servants catch me a large fish, and bring it to me alive." It was done. "Bring me now the infant," she continued, "but leave the women outside the door." She was obeyed. Then the mandarin's wife had the babe undressed and its clothes put on the large fish. "Carry the creature outside now and throw it back into the river in sight of the two women." The servant flung the fish into the water, where it rolled and struggled to free itself from its

unwelcome swaddling-clothes. Without a moment's pause one of the mothers threw herself into the river with a shriek. It was to save her drowning child. "She is the true mother beyond a doubt," decided the wife. The mandarin nodded his head, smilingly, while the false mother slunk away!

— Mr. B. H. Chamberlain, Professor of Japanese Philosophy in the Imperial University of Japan, has recorded some interesting facts relating to the Ainus. These appear as an essay in the opening number of the "University Memoirs." The monograph is reviewed by F. Victor Dickins with high approval. The Ainu-element in Japanese place-names has been rigidly investigated by Mr. Chamberlain. If read significantly many of the Japanese names are preposterous. For instance, Izumo = "issuing clouds." But in Ainus Izumo = "the bay near the promontory." Lists of such Ainu place-names have been collated, interrogated, and explained by Mr. Chamberlain. The result is almost a mathematical demonstration that the Ainu people, now a group of less than twenty thousand fishermen in the North, once extended to the extreme south of the islands. Dr. Griffis has mentioned history, language, and archæology as sanctioning the same view. "The Ainos of Jezo hold politically the same relation to the Japanese as the North American Indians do to the white people of the United States: but ethnically they are, with probability, bordering very closely on certainty, as the Saxons to the English."

— Another primeval race, the emblematic mound-builders, have left their mark on our continent so that he who runs may read. The Indians are not known to have erected effigies. Yet they, too, dwelt later among these mysterious turtles and wolves, geese and foxes, swallows and eagles, by the lakes and rivers. At one spot an immense panther effigy, with huge head and clumsy legs, but attenuated body, seems to look directly into the gateway of a village inclosure. Were the villages of these builders clan residences? Dr. S. D. Peet thinks they were. For this opinion he advances the following reasons: (1.) The effigies guard the villages so as to give the idea that they were clan emblems. (2.) Effigies representing the same animals are frequently found in connection with the game drives in the vicinity, seeming to show juxtaposition of the clan-emblems of hunter and effigy of hunted. (3.) Certain effigies are repeated again and again within limited areas, as if the clans had stamped their proprietary totems at various spots of their territory. (4.) The location of lone effigies on isolated and prominent points conveys the idea of clan boundaries. (5.) General study of the prehistoric map. Wherever the clan lived, the people stamped the impress of their occupancy on hill and vale. The learned doctor found between long mounds effigies of elk, bear, buffalo, and squirrel, — all in striking attitudes. The elk, with horns projecting as if in attitude of attack; the squirrel with body and tail curved as if running. Buffaloes seemed to be standing on the edge of the bluffs looking down. An owl was stationed on a high point whence a distant view could be gained.

— The Rev. Lysander Dickerman, whose papers and lectures on Egyptian themes have received high praise from popular and critical quarters the past few years, initiated at Chautauqua, last summer, an Egyptian course for beginners. If anything of the sort has been done in America before it has not attracted our attention. Individual scholars there have been in this recondite field. To be recalled especially is Commodore McCauley, whose "Egyptian Dictionary," published by the

American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, is a prodigy of toil and terseness. But public classes there has been no call for till the University of the People took its rise. We are glad to learn that Professor Dicker-
man's class learned the principles governing the use of ideograms and determinatives, the article, nouns, and pronouns, including gender, number, and case, principal and auxiliary verbs, and the preposition. The pupils were taught to translate easy sentences from hieroglyphics into English, and to write simple sentences in Egyptian. This was done without a text-book. The method adopted was to put the lesson of to-morrow on the blackboard of to-day. We are not surprised that the students thus led should have enjoyed their advantages. We hope that a similar course will be opened under the same auspices the coming summer, with such improvements as the advancing and inspiring science must, of necessity, suggest. What has been so well begun is a new proof of the insight of those remarkable educators, Dr. Vincent and Dr. Harper.

— Professor Paul Haupt, Ph. D., has met a practical and scientific need in his announcement of a forthcoming Assyrian Glossary. Its cheapness, compactness, and proximate completeness will be forcible recommendations. The rapidly swelling band of beginners in cuneiform on this side the Atlantic have longed in vain for such an aid to their studies. With the co-operation of Dr. Adler and Mr. Allen, the learned Göttingen professor is in a condition to honor Johns Hopkins University and to put Babylonian research under lasting obligations. We trust that after Haupt's Glossary may come Haupt's Grammar of the Tongues of the Tigris and Euphrates.

— The National Museum at Washington has undertaken the formation of a study-collection of casts of Assyrian and Babylonian Antiquities in association with the Johns Hopkins University. The Museum stands ready to make *fac-similes* and casts of Assyrian and Babylonian antiquities. An attempt is being made first to obtain copies of Assyrian antiquities preserved in this country. The Johns Hopkins University will attend to the proper arrangement and cataloguing of the Assyrian collection in the National Museum, under the supervision of Dr. Paul Haupt, Professor of Shemitic Languages, and Dr. Cyrus Adler, assistant in the Shemitic courses, who will also co-operate in the work of forming the collection and of securing the loan of objects to be copied.

— The Quarterly Statement of January, 1887, gives us a valuable report of the Twenty-first Anniversary Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The chairman was the Archbishop of York. He stated anew the unsectarian, uncontroversial, and scientific basis of the Society. What had been gained by the £66,000 spent? Educated travelers; Bible commentaries and handbooks; martyrs, like Drake and Palmer; above all, a Survey of Western Palestine of mathematical exactness. It only remains to go on. There should be new excavations and publications. There should be also a thorough inquiry into the manners and customs of the people.

Mr. J. Glaisher, F. R. S., pointed the foregoing by a comparison of the old map and the new, as they hung side by side upon the wall. He concluded by enumerating the following works on Palestine, stimulated by the Fund, and appearing since the Society was founded: Warren's "Underground Jerusalem," Palmer's "Desert of the Exodus," Tristam's "Land of Moab," Ginsburg's "Moabite Stone," Burton's "Unexplored Syria," Fergusson's "Temples of the Jews," Conder's "Handbook to the

Bible," Besant and Palmer's "History of Jerusalem," Lady Burton's "Inner Life of Syria," Oliphant's "Land of Gilead," Merrill's "Eastern Palestine," Trumbull's "Kadesh Barnea," Conder's "Judas Maccabaeus," Wright's "Empire of the Hittites," "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology." This is a library in itself.

Attention was next called by Sir George Grove to the fact that the Society was "part of the great movement for the investigation of the East and of the Bible which came into prominence thirty or forty years ago" in connection with Stanley's "Sinai and Palestine," and Fergusson's works on "Indian Architecture." During the construction of the Assyrian Court of the Crystal Palace, in 1853, Mr. Fergusson lamented that there was no complete concordance of the proper names of the Bible, — Old Testament, Apocrypha, and New Testament. Hence first a MS. concordance. This aided in no slight degree the preparation of Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible." "It certainly was the discovery of the vague and casual state of our knowledge of the country by those who had most to do with that Dictionary that caused the formation of the Fund." Sir George ended by a tribute to the Bible as the oldest, the most reasonable, the most delightful document in existence, destined, with the progress of research, to a more living hold on men, and to the indisputable title of the best, the truest, the noblest book in the world.

Sir Charles Wilson then remarked upon the impetus given by the Fund to Palestinian research in England and other countries, and appealed to residents in the Holy Land to note accidental discoveries. He was followed by Captain Conder, who praised his employers and associates, and emphasized the necessity of living daily among the people for whom and by whom the Bible was written, to be in thorough sympathy with the Book. Afterward Canon Tristam, D. D., contrasted the absolute ignorance of the flora and fauna of Galilee twenty-five years ago with the Catalogue published by the Fund. "We have 3,040 indigenous plants in the Holy Land, and most remarkable of all, in the river-system of the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan, forty-three peculiar species of fishes where only one was known before — all belonging to genera peculiar to the central lakes of Africa, and which have no connection with the fresh-water fishes of Europe or Asia." He compared the lists of clean and unclean animals in Leviticus and Deuteronomy. There are eleven in Deuteronomy which are wanting in Leviticus, mostly animals not found in Egypt or the Holy Land. They abounded in the Arabian desert. "They are not named in Leviticus a few weeks after the Exodus. After the people were thirty-nine years in the desert they are named — a strong proof that the list in Deuteronomy was written at the end of the journey and the list of Leviticus at the beginning."

— *The Second Wall of Jerusalem.* — Josephus in the fifth book, the fourth chapter, and the second section of his Jewish War, thus describes it: "The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called *Gennath*, which belonged to the first wall; it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower *Antonia*." The architects long since found the part abutting on Antonia. Dr. Selah Merrill latterly has discovered a section of the western part near Gennath. If the second wall sweeps northerly round to the Damascus Gate Josephus's phrase seems exactly justified. It was fortunate for sacred archaeology that the excavations of the Greek engineer under Greek Ecclesiasts should have been under the daily eye of a scholar so alert

and competent. Dr. Merrill laid down, at first provisionally, afterwards exactly, the direction of the wall — say N. N. W. from the starting point. There was nothing to indicate any change in direction — least of all a sharp elbow to the east such as Herr C. Schick conjectures. What has been seen points to the conclusion that the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre was within the second wall. If this is corroborated, the Greek tradition is disproved.

Since America could not be honored longer abroad by the retention of Dr. Merrill as consul at Jerusalem, she has been instructed by him at home. The Oriental scholar and indefatigable explorer has put the fruits of his exceptional opportunities where they can be shared with the public. With the warm sympathy of many of his countrymen he has entered the lecture-field. Some of his topics are "The Holy City of To-day and To-morrow," "Arab Life in the Syrian Desert," "An Evening with Judean Art and Artists." The Sunday-school or church who hears Dr. Merrill's racy and suggestive "One Hundred Things about Jerusalem" is to be congratulated.

— It was inevitable that the learned world should be excited at the announcement¹ that the mysterious Hittite Inscriptions had at last been read by a brilliant young explorer. The appearance of "Altaic Hieroglyphs" the past year was an event. It was a disappointment also. Probably Captain Conder claimed more than the facts warrant. At least he failed to convince the experts that the grammar and vocabulary of the Hittite texts were Accadian. His assumption of the connection between the Hittite and Kyprote characters has been better received. Indeed, it is accepted by the best authorities. Generalized criticisms seem to the author to yield six points that are safe: 1. The Hittites were an Ugro-Altaic people, whose language was nearest to the Finnic group. 2. Their language was agglutinative. 3. Packets occur on the texts. 4. The ideographic values are the same in some cases as in Egyptian. 5. Certain comparisons are possible with the earliest known cuneiform. 6. The inscriptions are possibly talismans in several cases if not in all. And this is a long stride toward the key though by no means the key itself. It is something added to the discoveries of Dr. J. Hayes Ward, Professor Sayce, and Professor Campbell, needing broader and more exact philological equipments in the achieve of final success.

— Dr. Porter is well known as the author of Murray's "Handbook of Palestine," and as President of Queen's College, Belfast. He has placed the Victoria Institute under obligations by a recent paper on the connection between Jewish, Phœnician, and early Greek art. Solomon's Temple is to him undoubtedly Phœnician. The Gebalites — "stone-squarers" of King James's version — were the inhabitants of the old Phœnician city of Gebal at the foot of Lebanon, north of Sidon. The plan might be compared to that of Amrit — the spacious open court, the massive encircling wall, the commanding site, the central shrine. Jachin and Boaz were isolated brazen pillars. Obelisks of stone are found in front of Phœnician sanctuaries in various parts of the Levant, and not infrequently are figured on coins. What was the nationality of the Solomonian shafts in question? These might be Phœnician or Egyptian, though Persepolis conveys to us an exacter idea of their appearance. Solomon's palace was not unlike that of Tiryns. The decoration of the Temple and Palace of the wise Jewish king may have been the first of

¹ *London Times*, February 26, 1887.

the brilliant feats of the Phoenicians, and served in no small degree to spread abroad their fame. The criticisms on the learned writer were mainly in two directions: (1.) Babylonia was the primeval home of the Phoenician art, and the brazen sea is distinctly Assyrian. (2.) Egypt was its training school — in the delta which from immigration won the name of Greater Phoenicia — Keft-aur!

— *Sidon Antiquities.* — A journal of Beyrouth has published a tolerably full account of the Saida excavations begun a year ago. They were in funeral vaults on the grounds of a wealthy Mussulman. The director of the Constantinople Museum, his excellency Hamdi Bey, oversaw the embarkation of the great sarcophagus, having it photographed when suspended over the deck of the transport. It weighed over 13,000 kilos. In length it was 3.30 metres, in width 1.70 metres, in height, excluding the lid, 1.40 metres. The beautiful lid is in the shape of a roof with two sides covered with tiles in the form of fish scales. At the four corners are four sleeping lions guarding their deceased master. Everything is painted in natural colors, of which the Tyrian purple is chief. All the sculpture is in high relief. The larger side of the sarcophagus contains an animated battle-scene. Chargers snort, soldiers struggle, men die. The nude Greek with sword and buckler confronts the trousered Persian, a speaking image of martial repose conquering martial fury. Such is the naturalness, nobility, and grace of the whole that every museum in Europe will wish a cast. The date is thought to be of the centuries just preceding the Christian era. Lower still, under layers of enormous stones, was found a monolith of ten cubic metres, which covered a magnificent anthropoid sarcophagus of black marble. In this was a mummy. It is that of Tabnite, King of Sidon. "I Tabnite, Priest of Astarte and King of Sidon, Son of Eshmunazar, Priest of Astarte and King of Sidon, lying within this sepulchre thus speak: come not to open my tomb; here is neither gold nor silver nor treasure. He who opens my sepulchre shall have no prosperity beneath the sun and he shall not find repose in his tomb." One is glad to anticipate the resumption of excavations in this marvelous royal necropolis. They were fixed for February, 1888.

— Beyrouth seems an admirable seat of the School of Biblical Archaeology outlined by H. W. Hurlbert a year ago in the "Academy" and "Presbyterian Review." The city is healthy and central. Its traditions of Arabic scholarship and research in the Land and the Book are of the best. An endowment of \$100,000 is the least that should be sought by the Syrian Protestant College, under whose auspices it is to work. The school appeals strongly to all travelers in Palestine, to all students of the Scriptures, to all explorers of regions between the Great Sea and the Mesopotamian rivers. Its reflex influence on Semitic lore in America will be incalculable. As a Protestant Propaganda it ought to hold no insignificant place. With American funds backed by American zeal, it should atone for the interruption of American work east of the Jordan.

— Harvard University has received returns from Syria in the person of Mr. J. Richard Jewett, her accomplished Assistant Professor in Arabic. Mr. Jewett graduated in 1884, with phenomenal linguistic brilliancy. He has devoted himself for years to the language of the Koran in Beirut. The American Oriental Society has already listened to his printed diary of a visit to Lebanon, and to specimen Arabic proverbs. It is pleasant to learn that Mr. Jewett has made a collation of proverbs in the common Arabic dialect of Syria. When given to the public in translation, notes,

and vocabulary complete it will be a valuable contribution to our knowledge of land and people. "The Akkiote salutes while standing," and "the Nazarene is free to give," are in like vein by G. Schumacher, who has lately traced the wall of Herod's city to the length of three miles south of the modern Tiberias.

— When M. Clermont Ganneau was studying the bronze lion weights of Nineveh in the British Museum his attention was attracted to one in particular. In it was engraved an Aramean word usually read שְׁמָרֵךְ "holy." Close inspection, however, convinced the savant that it should be read שְׁמָרֵס or paras, "half." Instead of being a weight of the *sanctuary* here was a weight of the *half-mina*. Involuntarily the three names of Nineveh weights engraved in Aramaicizing characters in a language near to Hebrew rose to mind — mâné, the mina, sêqâl, the shekel, phârâs, the half mina. By a strange coincidence these three names were the Aramean words of the Handwriting on the wall of Belshazzar's palace, — mâné, têkâl, pérâs. Using the pera for half-mina M. Ganneau reached a number of combinations, like "a mina is a mina, weigh two peras." M. Nöldeke concedes that Ganneau's proof is complete, and the passage in Daniel contains the usual designations of weights. Analyzing the words with masterly skill he shows that they mean, "A mina, a mina, a shekel and half minas." The שְׁמָרֵךְ of the Nineveh weight differs from the פְּרַסְׁךְ of the more modern Hebrews, owing to the Ninevite accent. The שׁ and ס have been exchanged in Assyrian. This conjecture Hoffmann confirms by other considerations. Nöldeke leaves the phrase a riddle. Hoffmann explains it. (1.) בְּנָה is the full weight standard mina — see the Lion of Abydos. Thus God has paid full weight thy kingdom (O Belshazzar) i. e., in the height of its bloom as bequeathed by Nebuchadnezzar. (2.) בְּקָלָה or בְּלָשׁ with מִנָּה prefixed is the mina in shekel pieces, i. e., darics or gold staters, — hence, according to the universal custom of antiquity, struck below their nominal weight. (Madden, Jewish Coinage, 1864, p. 274.) "Weighed art thou in the balances and found wanting." (3.) בְּרַסְׁן undoubtedly means two half minas: pointing to the separation between the Mede and the Persian. The word possibly, but not certainly, was applied at first to the *parting* of the hoof of the beast of the herd most important to the old Semites — the horse. See Lev. 11 and Deut. 14. Or it simply meant *broken* — as a mina into ingots. "Broken is thy kingdom and given to the Medes and Persians." Remembering that the coming of the daric was prerogative of royalty, what finer image of the kingly dignity could have been chosen? "Hebraica" has published an excellent translation of M. Ganneau's paper by Mr. R. W. Rogers, of Johns Hopkins University. The "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie" has furnished the acute comments of Nöldeke and Hoffmann.

— The Persia of Daniel is brought afresh to our attention by the complete report of M. Dieulafoy on his excavations in Susa, and by the publication of Sir Henry Layard's early adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia. To these the learned M. C. de Harlez in the last year's Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology adds a valuable contribution on Satan and Ahriman. He does not agree with the multitude of modern critics in deriving the Hebrew Arch-enemy from the Avesta. To him Satan of Judea is by no means one with Anro-Mainyus of Iran. The Satan of Job is an inferior spirit, a subaltern agent. His activity is limited by the will of God. He is the in-

voluntary promoter of the Divine Glory. But Ahriman is an eternal power coequal with the Most High. He is a rival compelling a king almost discrowned to tremble before him. Nowhere does he recognize the laws of Jahveh, everywhere does he destroy Ahura-Masda's works at will. "Anro Mainyus created against me 99,999 woes." To seek the origin of the Biblical Satan in the Avesta is idle. The conception is too original to have been borrowed anywhere. Least of all and last of all is Satan to be identified with *Paityārem*, which is by no means the name of the evil spirit, who plays, too, a subordinate rôle in the Avesta.

— How much old coins may tell us M. Reinach showed in his lecture before the "Society for Jewish Studies" of April last. We only wish our space permitted us to reproduce in full his instructive words on Jewish numismatics. They offer no masterpieces as do the Greek, no portraits as do the Roman. The human and animal was interdicted by the Hebrew construction of the second word of the Decalogue. On the other hand Jewish coins, from the severity of their type, are an abiding expression of the people, profoundly religious while but moderately æsthetic, who created them. They are of value for the history of the alphabet and for the development of Judaism with its lights and shadows. Some of them illumine, complete, or rectify the information of historians. Jewish coinage began with the Maccabees. The allusions in the Talmud to the moncy of Abraham, of Joshua, of David, and of the Old Testament to payments in shekels in the age of the kings, the judges, and the patriarchs, refer to money weighed not minted. Hence the extraordinary importance attributed by the Proverbs to the precision of weights and balances. "A false balance is an abomination to the Lord." Not yet had the Lydian, invention of coins spread from Greece to Judea when the Captivity ended Judah's independence. If coins circulated in Jerusalem after the exile they were gold darics of Persia or Median silver shekels. Under the Greek, Egyptian, and Syrian kings the Jews used Greek coins — the golden staters of Alexander, the silver drachmas, didrachmas, and tetradrachmas of the Ptolemys and Seleucidae. Eventually and especially the Phoenician system prevailed — and the tetrachmas of Tyre were the chief medium of exchange in Jerusalem, Hercules-Head and Ptolemaic Eagle appearing on the temple tax.

— The era of Maccabean autonomy was the era of bronze local coinage, the device a crown or palm, the legend now Hebrew simply, now Hebrew and Greek on opposite faces. With the Roman Conquest, first by Pompey then by Sosius, comes in a piece of money with a Jewess captive personifying Judea and a portrait of Mark Antony. Of the Herods, Philip struck a reverse of Augustus and an obverse of the tetrastyle temple at Caesarea-Philippi. Under Roman Procurators the legal currency of commerce becomes the Roman denier instead of the Attic drachma, the divine Tiberius head on one side, the pontifex maximus on the other. But the fiery revolution left its traces in Jewish silver shekels marked by the cup and the three-flowered lily. The legend, in mockery it seems of the doomed city, was "Jerusalem the holy." Other shekels just before her destruction bore on one face the aethrog and the lulab of the Feast of Tabernacles, on the opposite the palm of victory between two baskets of fruit. These were struck the fourth year of the siege. After the capture we find the famous medals of Vespasian. The emperor is in military costume. A female captive — *Judaea Capta* — sits in tears at the foot of a palm. From 133 to 135 Bar Cochsa, the confessed Mes-

siah of his nation, lifted the standard of revolt, and proclaimed independence by his coins. As he had no longer the treasure of the temple at command, Bar Cochsa was forced to restamp Roman deniers for silver, through which the names of emperors peered. The only exception was the silver shekel emitted during a transient occupation of Jerusalem. This bore a temple and a star for its device, and was meant for the temple tax. On it, as on the other coins of the false Messiah, was the legend, Simon. The Liberty bronze coins of his first year read Simon Masi Israel — liberty of Israel — deliverance of Jerusalem. When the second revolt had well-nigh exterminated the Jewish population of Palestine, and pagan immigrants had thronged the new city Aelia Capitolina, on the old site, a new coin was struck. It was of bronze, representing the founding of the city. On one side was Hadrian's noble head, on the other a colonist with cattle tracing the furrow of the future inclosure of Rome.

— To speak of Rome is to recall the visit of Rodolfo Lanciani to America the past year, and his brilliant archæological lectures before Johns Hopkins and Harvard Universities, and in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. One of his latest communications in the *Athenæum* is of a mass of lead found in the bed of the Tiber. The inscription on this lead was "Company of the Argentiferous mines of Mount ILVCR," which should be the ILVCRO, mentioned by Pliny in the province of Baetica. It must have fallen overboard when unloading alongside the "Lead" or "Spanish" wharf. How the lead business under the empire flourished is illustrated by a single detail. "The lead pipe which carried the water from a reservoir near the modern railway station to the forum of Trajan was 1,750 metres long and weighed over 225 tons." But this was one of many thousands. M. Lanciani calls attention to a newly found cippus, which "ranks among the choicest documents on the topography of Rome brought to light since the renaissance. It reveals the existence of an unknown bridge across the Tiber — the bridge of Agrippa. Where was this? No classic, no inscription, no coin tells us. M. Lanciani conjectures either (1) it was swept away by a freshet and its remains removed so as not to obstruct navigation; or (2) it is the bridge now known as Ponte Sisto, which was named "Broken," Valentinian, Caracalla, in reverse order up to the end of the second century.

— W. M. Flinders Petrie, to whose painstaking exactitude the Egypt Exploration Fund owes so much, is to explore the Fayum the present winter. This he does as a private individual. He suggests to the committee, from the standpoint of a disinterested outsider, the need of making a complete plan of the remains of temples and statues as they are uncovered henceforth. Two great works stand out the past season. The first is his uncovering of the Sphinx of Gizeh. The second is his photographs and squeezes of the Typical Foreign heads on the famous Karnak Bas-Reliefs. It is to be regretted that the fragment of the cartouche of Khafra on the Sphinx has flaked away. It is to be rejoiced in that upwards of 250 of the finest specimens of Libyan, Ethiopian, Hittite, and Ionian faces from Thebes, in mimic counterfeit, have been brought away. The last have been on exhibition at South Kensington. The striking resemblance of the Amorite and Judean physiognomy has there been noted. This accords with Scriptural intimations. Isaac Taylor has called attention to the Mongol physiognomy of the Hyksos chieftains, showing that the story of the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos is the story of the conquest of the Huns under Attila. The casts confirm

Mariette's conjecture, too, that one of the Hyksos dynasties was Hittite.

— Mr. W. N. Groff's discovery of the tribal names of Jacob-El and Joseph-El on the walls of Karnak would be startling were we not past being startled amid the wonders of Egyptian archaeology. The names occur on the famous list of the prisoners of Thothmes III., after the battle of Megiddo. The young American Egyptologist dissented from the older view, which made the names denote places. He read them first as tribes. The French Academy rightly says, "the great importance of the new reading consists in this, that in this event we have an episode in the history of the children of Israel between their arrival in Egypt and the Exodus. The very fact that the tribes of Jacob and the two tribes that descended from Joseph had joined together to combat the Egyptians would explain the unfriendliness of the Pharaoh who knew not Joseph — he having arrived during the reign of the Shepherd Kings." Mr. Groff's priority in this discovery is attested by M. Revillout and others. Robertson Smith's assertion, that "the supposed Joseph and Jacob were tribes or districts of Palestine," hardly of necessity follows from the title.

— The London "Times" (Mail) of December 26 gives an excellent account of M. Naville's discoveries at Bubastis. His preliminary work was at Tel-el-Yahoodieh, where Brugsch Bey of the Boulak Museum had made excavations yielding exquisite enameled tiles, and suggesting the conclusion that here was the Jewish settlement called Onion, after its leader, Onias. Was this Heliopolis? So the only name found might indicate did we not know that the nome was Heliopolitan. That Rameses II. was the worshiper of the god Set was written on one inscription. The cartouche of an unknown king of the XXII. dynasty came also to light. The Jewish settlement was made certain by the tombstones of a large cemetery a mile away, where Jewish names with a Greek ending abounded. On one tablet even "Onio" might be read. No ornament, no mummification, was here. Invariably a brick pillowed each head after the peculiar Jewish burial custom. Very probably here was the site of Onias's temple and city built for the Jewish exiles through the favor of Ptolemy Philometer under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. This temple had a tower of eighty cubits, according to Josephus, and stood till the days of Vespasian.

At Tel-Basta M. Naville uncovered one third of the famous temple described by Herodotus as the most beautiful in Egypt. So early as April he found palm and lotus capitals. The sculptures of Osorkon II. contained striking priestly processions and dances. A trained squad of strong men accustomed to lift heavy weights, like cotton bales, turned each block in search of inscriptions. The cartouche of Pepi I., the Pyramid king of the VI., and of Usertesen III., the mighty Obelisk ruler of the XII. dynasties, were uncovered. This field is likely to yield still richer harvests the present season under the wand of the indefatigable Egyptologist and Mr. Griffith, his learned lieutenant.

Dr. W. C. Winslow, of Boston, the American Vice-President of the Egypt Exploration Fund, has achieved great things the past year. Thanks to him the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has received the colossus of Rameses II. found at Nebesheh. This image of the Pharaoh of the oppression, whose mummy was unrolled so lately at Cairo, is the only one of the kind in America. It is a sitting figure of gray granite. Its

height is nine feet three inches. On the belt is inscribed, "Rameses Beloved of Amon." Like the Sphinx, it has a defective nose. The features resemble the best preserved of the colossal faces of Abou-Simbel. They breathe repose, dignity, and indifference to human suffering, combined with determination, will, and kingly pride. The son of Rameses is expected to join the father at the Museum. We are not surprised that the handsome contribution of \$5,000 raised by Dr. Winslow the past year should have been owned so appreciatively by Miss Edwards at the annual meeting. We hope it will be doubled and trebled next. Naville, the editor of the "Book of the Dead," and Griffith, the one English Egyptologist acquainted with demotic, are still to serve the Society. Bubastis, shrine of the Cat-headed Goddess, is to be the scene of exploration. Who will be a patron, pledging himself to give twenty-five dollars a year to this most rewarding enterprise.

At the same meeting of the American Oriental Society at which Dr. Winslow spoke of the "Book of the Dead," Prof. John Avery discussed the languages of northeastern India. No man was more competent to do so. He was master of fifteen languages. First at Grinnell, Iowa, afterwards at Brunswick, Maine, he had devoted himself to the antiquities, ethnology, and philology of the ancient tribes of the far East. He was one of the editors of the "American Antiquarian," endeared to his colleagues by a kindliness and conscientiousness without a flaw. Just after his withdrawal from his chair of Sanskrit and Greek at Bowdoin to give himself wholly to his favorite studies, he sickened of fever. No meaningless six-syllabled Thibetan prayer had been his in health. As a Bible teacher and church-member it could be said of him as of Ceylon, "the distance from heaven was not more than forty miles." He who had found in Persian carpets the counterpart of the Tree of Life, bearing twelve manner of fruits, was to eat of that Tree of Life, if to our grief who lose his manly prime too soon, to the joy of those who sing with him the new song on Mount Zion.

— The "Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia" brought honor to New York. Philadelphia is now to have the glory of a kindred undertaking. The new enterprise is associated with the name of Professor J. P. Peters, Ph. D., as Director. His enthusiasm and erudition fit him well for the task. The treasurer of the expedition is a prominent and public-spirited citizen of Philadelphia, Mr. E. W. Clark, the banker. The University of Pennsylvania has produced a unique monument of its devotion to Egyptian studies in its translation of the Rosetta Stone. To-day she is cultivating Assyrian with like zeal. Professor Hilprecht, it is stated, has a full score of students in the Cuneiform under his able and stimulating guidance. The foundations of a new library rich in Orientalia are soon to be laid. What could be more suitable than for the Provost of the University, Dr. William Pepper, to open his house for a meeting of gentlemen interested in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates? This has been done, and "Town and Gown" have joined hands in projecting a Philadelphian expedition, under University auspices, for Chaldean exploration. Dr. W. Hayes Ward was present, and must have rejoiced at seeing new friends of the cause he has done so much to advance. All lovers of learning, art, and religion will wish the expedition godspeed.

John Phelps Taylor.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS.

VIII. CENTRAL AND EASTERN AFRICA. (*Continued.*)

IN January we gave some extracts from the Rev. R. P. Ashe's account of the martyrdoms at Uganda, of both the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Christians, both men and youths, and even children, some dying under cruel mutilations, but most of them perishing in the flames. The whole number of martyrdoms seems to have been about two hundred. Mr. Ashe, speaking of the martyrdom of youths and of some boys not over ten or twelve, says: "They wanted to kill a lot more little fellows, but Namasole's woman's heart seems to have pleaded for them, and she said she would not have mere children killed; but not so Mwanga; all within him seems hardened." Namasole, or Vamasole, it will be remembered, is the queen-mother.

Mr. A. M. Mackay writes: "Nua, the chief of all the blacksmiths in the land, was one of our most prominent people. . . . Seeing among those in the stocks with him a chief who had been condemned for shooting and wounding a man and stealing cattle, Nua implored the executioner not to execute the cattle stealer along with those who were dying for their faith. This was reported to the king, who sent and pardoned the cattle stealer, but left Nua to be burnt alive with the others." Père Lourdel, Mr. Mackay remarks, having gone to court, saw the pages and others arrested and led off, "he told me, without a word or a cry from any one — except one lad, who shed tears. Hearing that the Katikiro was leaving the court, he joined that dignitary on the way down the hill, and implored him not to kill the lads thus for no reason, but rather to send him and his brethren away, as they had taught these lads. The minister replied, 'It is our own children whom we are killing, and not yours.' 'But why do you not hold us guilty, for it is we who have taught them to read?' 'You are guests; you may teach as much as you like, but I will kill every one who learns.' . . . "Probably no religious persecution," says Mr. Mackay, "has ever been altogether devoid of the political element. Here, too, those who learn the European religion are believed to aid and abet the occupation of the country by European power. The two ideas are as inseparable here as in China, Tonquin, or New Zealand." Mr. Mackay greatly regrets that the French priests, even in this terrible urgency, were not willing to take common action in interceding with the king. — These martyrdoms, it will be remembered, were about Easter. In July Mr. Ashe writes: "A few words of the Lord's work in our midst. Most of our work is now carried on in secret and under the cover of darkness. At first, when the storm broke upon us, all was darkness and fear. We knew the slaughter had been terrible, but who the slain were we knew not. After awhile, at dead of night, one well-known face was joyfully welcomed, and then another. Soon many came, and with thankful hearts we found that though many had fallen, many, many more escaped and are now hiding." He then speaks of nine baptisms, including one or two chiefs. One princess, a cousin of the king, was among them. Another one, who appears to have been his sister, had been put off. Mr. Ashe has no good opinion of these royal applicants, with one or two exceptions. — Mr. Ashe

finally, as we remember, obtained permission to return to England, leaving Mr. Mackay, the layman, behind, and arriving at home January 3, 1887. — The "Intelligencer" for February, 1887, remarks, that from more particular information brought by Mr. Ashe, it appears that the number of Christians at Uganda had hitherto been underestimated. More than 200 have been baptized by the Protestant missionaries, and as many more by the Roman Catholics. In all it is thought that some 200 of those who were more or less adherents of the missions have been put to death. Of these, however, only twelve are known to have been baptized communicants of the Church of England mission. Most of the martyred lads were Roman Catholics. The Christian pages of the king were mostly adherents of the French mission, and therefore the wrath of the tyrant raged most fiercely against them, the more so as he was himself an apostate Catholic catechumen.

The Christians of the Church Missionary Society's mission in Tinnevelly, South India, having been deeply touched by the account of the martyrdoms in Africa, have sent to their relief the fruits of their Christmas offertories, amounting to £80. In forwarding it, the native pastor, the Rev. Jesudasen John, says: "I am a convert of the third generation in India. My great-grandfather was brought to the knowledge of the truth in the year 1761. So it is now 125 years since my family were called from heathen darkness to the blessed light and privileges of the Gospel of Christ. There are now above 100,000 Protestant converts in this province of Tinnevelly, wherein, with many other helpers, I have been laboring as Christ's servant for above forty years. But as we look back on the past, our Church lacks the bright crown which so justly belongs to your Church as martyrs for the faith in a loving Saviour, whose gospel reached you only so short a time ago, and whom, having not seen, you have loved even unto death. We wish you, dear Christian brethren, to feel assured of our sympathy with you in your severe trials, for 'when one member suffers all the members suffer with it.' We gladly send our little assistance through the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, to help you as they shall think best." — The Church Missionary Society having appealed for £2,000 to build a new boat on the Lake at Uganda, an unknown giver has supplied the money. — In June, 1887, there was in London a Valedictory Dismissal of seven missionaries for Eastern Equatorial Africa, five being new recruits. One is a layman. — Letters from Bishop Parker, Hannington's successor, lay out the work to be done, and bring us nearer the scene by one or two little bits of landscape-painting. "A few days' march from Taita brought us to that oasis in the desert — Taveta. After walking over fifty miles, through waterless country, to enter suddenly a dense growth of the most luxurious vegetation is a treat indeed. The deep shade after the glare and heat; the beauty of the giant trees, rising 100 feet before throwing out branches; the festoons of creeping plants; the great variety in the undergrowth; the streams, with their banks fringed with maiden-hair fern; — you cannot be surprised at all travelers being more or less fascinated with Taveta. But it does not appear to be healthy a portion of the year." Again, speaking of Mochi, two days' journey beyond Taveta: "I cannot stop to describe the beauty of Mochi, and the views from the mission-house — Kilimanjaro, with its snowy dome of Kibo and jagged peak of Kimawenzi on one side, and a distant view down volcanic ridges to the plain. . . . Things move

slowly in Africa, but doors are opening in the Taita district and Chagga district. So I believe that wherever there is a patient setting forth of the Christian life and Christian teaching, there will, in the end, be found no keeping back of the Lord's blessing." — The Bishop, in a later letter, well says, "Christendom does not yet realize how gross the darkness of the Dark Continent is."

Writing from Uganda, under date of January, 1887, Mr. A. M. Mackay a layman, and an artisan, and having therefore not only the right, but the duty of advancing the claims of his side of the missionary work, has some remarks both keen-witted and worthy of being pondered. We therefore quote them at some length. He begins by explaining how it is that he has come back into a measure of favor with the young tyrant Mwanga. "I have a heavy job in hand. His majesty's flag-staff seems likely to fall. He has asked me to try my skill at securing it. So I have our esplanade full of logs which they have brought, and all the native carpenters chopping at them every day. I am manufacturing a pyramidal-shaped braced structure of these logs to rigidly secure his mast. I do not grudge the pains, as, by God's blessing, it will help to show all and sundry that we have no desire to see any other flag here than Mwanga's, and something 'big' always tells with ignorant people (at home and abroad). Even were it not so, mechanical work is probably as legitimate an aid to Missions as medical. These last urge as their plea our Saviour's cures. Only our Saviour's cures were not by means of *medicine*, and perhaps the half of all the miracles He performed had no connection with sickness at all, *e.g.*, walking on the sea; draught of fishes; feeding the 5,000; raising the dead; providing the tribute-money, etc. Perhaps you have noticed that, of the sixty or more miracles recorded in the Old Testament, by far the greater number are more closely connected with physics than with physic. Nor do I see why the one should not be as helpful to Mission work as the other, except for the difficulty of getting out of the rut our ideas run in. I believe too that the present facilities for prosecuting Mission work at the ends of the earth are more due to the advance the century has made in mechanics than in medicine. . . . At all events we need not despise mechanics, for the greatest Mechanician is the Almighty. There is not a principle in the most complicated mechanism or structure which He did not ordain and establish. Men have only been finding them out and using them. I believe, further, that you will find in physics, pure and applied, the main laws run on into the spiritual world just as much as those of biology do. It must be so, for the terms "the wind bloweth," and "the spirit breatheth" are interchangeable. There is a wide field for thought here. This mine will, I believe, be much wrought in the future." Mr. Mackay seems to be at one with Professor Drummond both as to philosophy and interest in Central African missions. — It seems that Canon Taylor's curious assertion that Uganda has just become Mohammedan has, after all, a trifling spark of fact to warm itself by. After Mwanga's massacres of the Christians, he, like his father Mtesa, whom he resembles in fickleness, though his bloodthirstiness seems to be all his own, took to reading the Koran, and gave out that he would kill every one who refused to do the like. On this point there is a controversy between Mr. Mackay and Père Lourdel. The priest maintains that the Christians ought not even to look at the Koran in obedience to the king, but the Scotchman tells them that Mwanga has not a thought of turning Moslem, or of making them such, but is merely

toying with the Koran for a little while, that many Christians read it without dreaming of accepting it, and that they can do the same as a mere act of mechanical obedience, without any shadow of apostasy. We should judge from the latest accounts that Mwanga had tired of his freak, and let the whole matter drop.

The Royal Geographical Society publishes in its "Proceedings" for August, 1887, an interesting map (copied in the "Intelligencer" for October) of the regions respectively assigned, by treaty, or at least by agreement, between England and Germany, as "the sphere of influence" of each nation respectively. The German "sphere" — or, more exactly, the territory within which Germany is allowed to establish Protectorates, extends between the coast and Lake Nyassa, being bounded on the south by the river Rovuma, in about 11° S. L. to a boundary passing northwest through Mount Kilimanjaro and striking the east bank of Victoria Nyanza about midway, in 1° S. L., embracing 148,700 square miles. The English "sphere of influence," conterminous on the north, amounts to 72,000 square miles. The coast of the whole region, embracing 9,190 square miles, is conceded to the Sultan of Zanzibar, who, of course, will be expected to be in all things compliant with his mighty neighbors. The German part has been put in charge of the German East-African Company, whose mode of working is yet to be developed. It appears, however, by an emphatic declaration of Dr. Peters, the founder of the Company, that it is not their intention to found "a State like that founded by Mr. Stanley in Western Africa." "The development of the resources of the country" — says the "Proceedings" — "is to be left to other agencies. There is no talk now of diverting a stream of German emigrants to Eastern Africa, although a few experimental settlements may possibly be established in promising localities. It is thought, however, that Eastern Africa might yield at least a portion of the colonial produce upon which Germany annually expends about forty millions, and that this produce might be paid for with German manufactures. It is more especially intended to cultivate tobacco, coffee, and cotton, and for this purpose a 'Plantation Company' has been founded with a capital of £100,000. . . . A survey for a railway is about to be commenced, and mining operations have been heard of." Missionary operations, Protestant and Roman Catholic, are to be encouraged. It seems, however, as if missionary zeal was to be invoked chiefly as a means of Germanization, rather than from any great interest in evangelization. Nevertheless, "man proposes, but God disposes."

Mr. Mackay has expressed great indignation that some means have not been used by Europe, especially by England, to restrain the blood-thirstiness of Mwanga. What he means, however, is only that all importations of arms and ammunition, and even of calico, should be forbidden until he gives over his persecutions. This, Mr. Mackay assures us, will bring a popular pressure upon him that will soon compel him to yield. — About March, 1887, Mr. Mackay writes, "A few weeks ago there was a general scare, and we all expected another outbreak of cruelty. King Mwanga has been heard to say that he intended slaughtering the Christians, who, he said, were still many." Thus far, however, the more prudent advice of the queen-mother seems to have restrained him from a fresh outbreak. It appears that there is much discontent among the chiefs, many of whose children were among the youthful martyrs of Christ. *Salvete, flores martyrum.* — The king's palace, with all its build-

ings, had been accidentally burned down, and with them went the great flag-staff which Mr. Mackay had so strongly fortified. However, the casualty does not seem to have led to any new explosion against anybody. — In April, 1887, Mr. Mackay left Uganda for England, but left the keys of the Mission with the French priests, in token that his departure was only provisional.

The "Missionary Herald," of the English Baptists, referring to several recent deaths of their missionaries on the Congo, remarks that the Society is now earnestly "seeking to obtain the personal services of two or three fully qualified and well-equipped medical missionaries, who shall make the study of the Congo fever and climate their chief object, and who shall be able to render thoroughly skilled and efficient treatment to the brethren at work in the Congo district." It then quotes from the "Medical Missions at Home and Abroad" an appeal which is equally pertinent in our country. "Surely so fine a field for missionary labor as the Congo offers to young Christian medical men should at once be occupied. The privilege of taking part in laying good and sure foundations for a Christian community, which is to fill that immense region, is one which ought powerfully to attract our younger men. Rightly regarded, it should be coveted by noble hearts as one of the real prizes of the profession. What post at home will compare with it for real importance and far-reaching influence? Wealth certainly it will not bring; whereas toil and hardship, with some of the rarest spiritual joys, may as surely be looked for. What then? Are our young Christian doctors going to admit to their own hearts that, in these days, when their Lord is summoning every talent to this great service of winning the world for Him, they shrink from a calling which so intimately concerns the planting and forming and moulding of infant Christian peoples because it involves a life of hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ? We would urge our young medical brethren to look at this whole subject very earnestly. In these days the responsibility laid on every young Christian medical man to choose very carefully his life-sphere is far greater than ever before in the history of our profession. Not for the Congo Mission only, but all round the heathen world, Christian doctors are wanted. If ever the Master called, He is calling now to his servants to fulfill his great commission. . . . Who will go?"

The Rev. W. Holman Bentley, writing to the "Herald" from the Upper Congo, which he had been exploring in their steamer, the Peace, accompanied by his wife and infant child, gives the following description of the Bolobo district. The district is on the south bank of the Congo, about 2° N. and 20° E. "As we neared Bolobo" — or Bolombo — "we were anxious about food, for the men had gone short the previous night. The people there have been far from gracious of late, and have sold us very little. When we stopped at one of their beaches, there was not much interest displayed until baby was brought out; then a crowd formed. We went ashore, and walked about the town. The women were soon busy making us some kwango (cassava bread).

"The Bolobo district is very populous. I had never seen anything like it before. For five miles there is an almost unbroken line of houses along the banks, some towns being divided off by fences. After these five miles there is a break, because these banks are too high and inconvenient. After a mile or two, more towns again, and they stretch on at short intervals for another twenty-five miles or so — towns and people every-

where." At other places too when the people sullenly refused to sell them food, they had but to bring out the baby, and, as in one town, "the moment he appeared there were shouts of delight, and a crowd assembled. In less than two minutes after we had been told to go away I had to take baby ashore and with my wife go into the town. Such delight, shouting, crowding, all in good spirits, no rowdiness. A great number wanted to hold him for a moment. Was he born like ordinary children? Which was his mother? They could scarcely realize that there were also white women. Some of them who held him for a moment had rubbed themselves with powdered camwood, staining his white dress a bright red; one or two were in mourning, and had rubbed themselves with soot and ashes. Baby's general appearance after a visit of this kind may be guessed." "It was then time to drop down, as we had promised, to the beach of Ibaka, the great chief. . . . Lingenji was acting for him in the town; we found him drunk, but friendly. He crawled on the ground, placed his forehead on our boots, and behaved in a manner otherwise than he would have done had he been sober. However, he was in very good humor. He had begged for a book from Mr. Grenfell on some previous journey, and he had given him a well-read book almost dropping out of its cover, and with it a pencil, and Lingenji had scrawled on the margins. Of this he was very proud, and exhibited it, much to our admiration." "Drunkenness is the only serious danger or difficulty there. Somehow or other, the Congo State (or Association) station was burnt twice by incendiaries. We might settle there without hesitation but for this possibility — who can tell what evil these people might do or instigate when drunk? This possibility, however, exists more or less anywhere, and must not be allowed to prevent the establishment of Christian mission stations. There must be risk in starting our work among such folk; but we must do all we can to minimize the risk by building in clay or iron." . . . In another place the missionaries found their mundane humanity very seriously disputed by the chief and his people. "He sat down near us at our invitation, and even shook hands with us, examining curiously the hand he had just taken. 'You are not men, you are spirits.' We suggested we were very warm and substantial ones, and that we were in the habit of eating and sleeping like other mortals; indeed, we had just accepted a goat for our dinner from our friend beside him. Did spirits eat and sleep? 'But you are spirits, not men.' I pointed out my wife and baby on the steamer. Had spirits wives and babies? They laughed heartily at the idea, but then thinking, perhaps, why should not spirits have wives and babies? — he continued, 'No, you are spirits, you are not good, why do you always trouble us? Our people die, our farms do not produce as they should, our goats and fowls die, sickness and trouble come, and you are the cause; why do you do this? Why do you not let us alone?' We told them that these matters were in the hands of Iyanja (God), and had nothing to do with us or spirits. It was this very business we had in this country, to teach them about Iyanja. Then we went on talking about death and God's purposes, telling them that Iyanja was good and not bad, and that all the good things they had come from Him. After some further talk, we promised to come again some day and teach them more."

The Mission has engaged a number of workmen from among the wild cannibal folk near Bangala. "They are men of splendid physique, and their term of service will give us time to make something of them. They

will make a good crew for the Peace. At Bangala we made friends with one smiling, amiable, mild-looking chief, who had eaten, at least, seven of his wives, and had somewhat beggared himself in consequence."

"Central Africa," the little publication of the Universities' Mission, has an interesting description of the outward aspect of Eastern Africa as seen from Newala, a station near the great river Rovuma, which bounds the German "sphere of influence" on the south, flowing into the Indian Ocean in 9° S., immediately east of Lake Nyassa. "Our houses at Newala stand on a spur of a hill that lies immediately below the steep escarpment of the Makonde plateau; and some half way, in point of height, between the plateau and the level alluvial plain through the centre of which, at a distance of from 15 to 20 miles, flows the noble river Rovuma. The position is a fine one in every respect. The elevation above the sea level of the hill whereon we have built our village" — constituted of released slaves — "is in excess by 300 feet of that on which our houses at Masasi stood, and being itself very considerable, is, no doubt, the prime cause of the healthiness of the situation. From the back of our house we command an extensive view of the great plain of the Rovuma and the distant hills beyond, rising as they do in lonely isolation, and with a kind of solemn grandeur all their own, from the wide-spreading reaches and levels of uninhabited forest. Conspicuous in this view is the broad river itself, and if of its water we see but little, owing to the distance from which we survey it, yet its golden sand, faithfully realizing the poet's description of the typical 'sunny fountains' of 'Afric,' glitters and grows almost dazzling under the glow of the tropical sun, as we gaze upon it from our gardens. During the rainy season, when the atmosphere — clear as it is at all times in Africa — is still more transparent, there seems to be scarcely any limit to the view as we look southwards across the Rovuma. Then it is that the summits — and, indeed, often very much more than the summits — of hills whose height we are ignorant of appear on the horizon at a distance which we think we cannot be wrong in placing at from 90 to 100 miles. Those who have found by a glad experience what wealth to the religious feeling is brought by such a view as this, in which the idea of *boundlessness* is preëminently that which it calls up in the mind and imagination, will realize what an immense gain and what a real possession we have thus secured in settling on the Newala hills. Certainly we, whose lot it is to live almost alone, and with the society of not more than one or two of our fellow-countrymen from year's end to year's end, are not unmindful that this lasting joy is given by God himself to be for us an especial boon and solace. But the vast expanse of country which is stretched out before us as we gaze southwards, and which — as we have said — is powerful at all times to draw our hearts and spirits upwards, and to disengage our thoughts from things of sense and to help to fix them on the Infinite; this well-nigh boundless champaign, with its play of light and shade from the rolling clouds moving across it, and keeping it, as it were, in perpetual motion, does not exhaust all that we have to note in speaking of what the eye rests on with delight as it looks from the hill where our village is perched. Turning our backs on the Rovuma plain and looking northwards, quite a different scene presents itself. We are no longer gazing upon that magnificent sweep of trackless forest with its silent far-off solitudes, and its jagged masses of rock and hill here and there cropping up from the level tree-clad plain. We now have before us a view that is bounded suddenly, and

scarcely more than two miles from us, by the sharp-cut outline of the level top of the Makonde table-land. It is the bold southern escarpment of the plateau that we are looking at, in places almost perpendicular and bare of foliage or greenery of any kind, but standing out with the rich bright red of the ferruginous sandstone of which the whole plateau consists. In other places the cliff-like appearance is changed for a more gradual slope which is thickly covered with trees and thicket, and in one part, with which we are well acquainted, is overgrown by the common bracken fern, so familiar in our forests, parks, and heaths at home. From our village to the foot of the escarpment the ground is very broken and irregular, and in many parts under cultivation, so that the little valleys and dales separating the numberless hills which occur in this space have been thickly planted with bananas, which not a little enhance the pleasing effect of the undulating ground which lies between our village and the Makonde country." The beauty of God, poured out over nature, is, as many can testify from long experience, a wonderful solace in the absence of the society of equals, and, in its highest intensity, even a purifying fire, "cleansing away all worldliness and folly."

Bishop Smythies, after a journey from the Shiré to Newala, ascribes a certain compensatory value, in the absence of higher motives of activity, to the endless African feuds. "I was surprised to find a large population right up in the mountain side, clearing ground and cultivating fields on the steepest and most stony slopes. This seems to point to one good which may come from the evil of African wars. If all was quiet, and there was no fear of these marauding tribes, and yet no civilization to quicken thought, in a climate where everything comes to hand so readily, if there are only rivers as there are here, the people would have nothing to keep them from becoming more and more enervated. Whereas the dread of the enemy leads them, at the cost of immense trouble and difficulty, to build their houses high up in the mountains, and clear and cultivate the most precipitous places."

Outside of Uganda, and of the mission of the American Baptists on the Congo, there is as yet little to report of conspicuous results of missions in the regions of the Congo and the Lakes. Everything is as yet preparatory and tentative. But few of us consider for how many generations, nay, centuries, this was the condition of Christian missions in Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. One of the most interesting, and for us encouraging features of mediæval missions, is found in the many abortive attempts at the evangelization of the Teutonic mainland and peninsulas, and the violent and sometimes long-continued reactions of heathenism, before its final collapse. The present missionaries in subequatorial Africa are the Ansgars of this region. The Anglo-Catholic character of our brethren of the Universities' Mission brings such a comparison peculiarly near. Their Anglo-Catholicism, however, is not of the sickly, or of the narrow sort, but includes the fullest acknowledgment of other Christian labors in Africa, and is simply an historical vesture and form of a large and manly Christianity, such as well becomes highly educated Englishmen. The school of Ken has yet a glorious work to do in the world. We take pleasure, therefore, in giving another extended extract from the missionaries at Newala, showing how sound and pure and balanced are the principles which they are laying at the foundation of a work which can afford to be patient because it is to be of secular duration. "Our numbers at the present are 62 adults, besides some 22 children. Of the

adults 40 are baptized, the remainder being either Catechumens or hearers. Of the children there are 16 baptized. The others being the offspring of parents who are not yet Christians remain as their parents until such time as these last are brought to baptism, or until they themselves are old enough to be baptized as adults. Most of our people belong to Nyassa tribes, a very small minority being either Yaos or Makusas. Perhaps because they live far away from their own proper country, or because of a certain 'clannishness' peculiar to them, our Nyassa people remain very exclusive, and are most unwilling to mix much with the Yaos and Makusas, who live around us. It is much to be lamented that they fail us in the very respect in which we had hoped that they would have been a great aid to us in our work, by influencing by their Christian conduct those outside whom we are seeking to evangelize. For while the good conduct of the villagers, as a whole, is certainly a matter which we may record with heartfelt thankfulness, and while it cannot but have its good effect on our neighbors, much of the good influence which might be spread by the mere existence amongst them of a really God-fearing community is undoubtedly diminished by a certain indifference—in some cases, we fear, amounting to contempt—which is shown by our people themselves towards those who are without. While we ourselves are seeking in every way to attract them to our teaching and to our Church, our own Christian people manifest a kind of spirit which savors of the desire to stand aloof from them, and to maintain separate and peculiar interests which they are not eager that our neighbors should share. History seems to teach that this has in the past not unfrequently been the peculiar temptation to which young churches have been exposed—the temptation to cherish fondly their own privileges without really desiring to extend them to others who have not yet received the like spiritual advantages. We strive, by constantly putting before our people the duty of recognizing their Missionary vocation as a Christian community in a heathen land, to induce in them at least a sense of shame at their own selfishness, that so they may be stirred up to lay aside all that now prevents them realizing in practice what in theory we may hope they have long since grasped, namely, that in Christ Jesus there is 'neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free—for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.' We mention this serious fault in our people because we are anxious to give our readers a true idea of what our people are, neither hiding their bad points nor magnifying their good ones. Their spiritual needs will then be better realized, and friends at home who pray for God's blessing in our work will be better able to know how to frame their petitions on behalf of this branch of it.

"Most of the people in our village having come to us in the first instance as adults are not able to read or write. Since they have had their own living to get, and to provide also for their families, it has not been possible for them, to find time to be taught the three R's. All the instruction, therefore, that has been given to them has been confined to teaching them the doctrines of Christianity by means of the various classes held for them for that purpose. So far as has been possible, we have followed the ancient discipline in this respect, and have caused our people to pass through the various grades of 'hearers' and 'catechumens,' while under preparation for holy baptism. In this way, such teaching as has been deemed necessary to prepare their minds for the reception of Christianity has been imparted, while a somewhat long period of proba-

tion has afforded opportunity for testing the reality and growth of their avowed desire to 'turn from these idols' and follow the true God, a definite apprehension of whose Being, attributes, and dealings with mankind it is sought to convey to their intellects by means of these classes. As for the most part, and so far as we are permitted to trace it, the desire for better things, and for a new birth unto righteousness, has only very gradually been formed in their hearts, so also it has been but very slowly that in their minds has arisen a real apprehension of the Christian revelation, and a strong sense of this fact with regard to these people has led us always to prefer a protracted course of instruction and a long probation. This, however, must only be understood to be our general rule, to which, from time to time, there have been marked and happy exceptions; as, for instance, when God's grace abounding has, as we have believed, been made manifest in the heart of now this one and now that in such a way as has led us, long ere the more usual time we allow for probation has elapsed, to exclaim, 'what hinders this man from being baptized?' If such exceptions are rare, they nevertheless are among the very greatest encouragements that we meet with in our work, and have again and again, in times when the flame of hope has flickered low, and when faith in the regeneration of Africa has dwindled and become very faint, aroused in us new energies, and sent us to our work again with fresh and more earnest prayers."

We hear a great deal in our day about the unreasonableness of immediately presenting a moral standard so high as that of Christianity to barbarians. Canon Taylor has lately been favoring the world with such an opinion. And considering how far the average conduct of average men and women in England, Ireland, France, and Germany, to say nothing of America, yet is from the standard of the New Testament, it is possible that the learned Canon holds the Day of Tours for a calamity, when Charles Martel shattered the Saracen hosts, and saved Western Europe for Christ. At least, it is worth while listening to Professor Henry Drummond on the other side, as quoted in "Central Africa" for March, 1886. "He confessed that since the time he sailed down Lake Nyassa with Dr. Laws he had passed through a period of skepticism with regard to that work — not a period of complete skepticism, but of skepticism in theory. The problem was this: God chose a people whom for hundreds and thousands of years he trained with his own hand and aid to receive the gospel of Christ; missionaries go to a people who have passed through no such evolution and present them with a fully formed gospel. And he had said to himself it was theoretically impossible and false to the teaching of God in history that a great work could be immediately expected in those Central African Missions. He saw that to be theoretically impossible. At the same time he saw it to be practically realized, because he sat down at Dr. Laws' station at the Lord's Supper with the seven black men and the two black women, and received the cup from their hands. He supposed communion seasons were the holiest in their memory, but of all the holy memories of communion days, to him would always be that day at Livingstone. And he confessed that when he asked himself after coming home what it was those seven black male converts and two black female converts saw in that sacramental feast — what they believed that it was — he could only answer the question by saying that they probably saw as much in it as he did. The sun was

90,000,000 miles from the earth. The nearest star was so far away that it took its light $3\frac{1}{2}$ years to reach us here. Eight minutes earlier it came to the sun — eight minutes only, although the sun was 90,000,000 miles from here. It was a trifle. Well, there might be some difference in the intelligent holding of truth between the black communicant and the white, but compared with the vast distance both were from the sun and the smallness of their intelligence to the wisdom of the great God, the difference after all was trifling. They saw as much in it probably as we did. Their prayers were just as true and real as ours. Their knowledge might not be so wide, but it was as intense; and to God who saw the child's spirit in those children, and only the child's spirit in us, we were brothers. . . . He remembered once hearing a poet preaching a child's sermon on the 23d Psalm. The preacher described a very lovely garden where there were green pastures and still waters, and in the garden there was a great multitude of little children, and only one grown-up person, whom the children called the shepherd. If any of them wandered the shepherd brought them back. If any of them fell and hurt themselves he restored their soul, and so on. That was the missionary in the heart of Africa. He was the shepherd moving amongst the children in the garden. His preaching did not amount to much. It would be many and many a year before his preaching was understood, even at its simplest, by the majority of the people. But what he told was the shepherd's life, his daily moving out and in amongst the people; and what was wanted for Africa was a great many white men, with gentleness, and kindness, and Christ-likeness, to simply go there and *do nothing but live.*" If they educated the natives so much the better. Professor Drummond seems to us rather extravagant in this concluding opinion. But it is the exaggeration of a profoundly valuable truth.

— Archdeacon Hodgson writes from Mbweni, Zanzibar, under date of May 10, 1886: "We had 108 communicants on Easter Day; thirty were baptized on Easter Eve, and seventy confirmed last Thursday." Mbweni is a mission-station largely occupied by released slaves. The communicants represent some thirty African tribes, mostly from near Lake Nyassa and the Shiré. — Archdeacon Farler reports from Magila, a little back from the Zanzibar territory, that they had about 180 preparing for baptism, nearly half being chiefs, or, rather, headmen of villages. — Bishop Charles Alan, of the Central African Mission, says: "We have a great deal to contend with here in the heathen customs. Parents are always wanting their children who are growing up to go through the filthy and obscene initiatory rites which are everywhere practiced, and even Christian people are frightened into connivance at them, because if a woman bears children who has not been through them the heathen women who attend her will kill the children if possible. One of our boys lately utterly refused against all the pressure put upon him by his father and the chief of his town to join in these rites. He said they might force him to do what they liked, but he would take no step of his own will, and would resist as much as he could. At last he broke away from them, and they had to give him up in despair. I had the happiness of baptizing him last Sunday as a reward for his constancy. A heathen marriage is too filthy to be described, and yet every pressure is put on Christian young men and women by their friends to make them submit to it. It seems as if Satan had succeeded in mixing up something to de-

grade and pollute with all the customs of the country." The Bishop elsewhere remarks that the Africans, having very little law, cling to their customs, however vile, with terrible tenacity, as the only breakwater between the maintenance and the disintegration of their social life.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. By G. MASPERO, D. C. L., Oxon., Member of the Institute of France, Professor at the Collège de France, etc. Translated from the French by AMELIA B. EDWARDS. With two hundred and ninety-nine illustrations. Pp. xii., 328. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. London: H. Grevel & Co. 1887.

Under the above title, and in a "limited edition," we have a book that will prove itself valuable not only to students of Egyptian antiquities, but to the student of comparative archaeology. The book as it now appears is in the shape of a translation, not servile and hard to read, but in a style as flowing and bright as though it were an original. Nothing else was to have been expected from Miss Edwards, and anything else would have been a sad disappointment. As was said of Saurin, so may be said of Maspero, "he is happy in his translator." Of the qualifications of the translator for her task, so far as a knowledge of Egypt and Egyptian antiquities is concerned, it seems almost impertinent to speak. The author of "A Thousand Miles up the Nile," and of almost countless articles and notes on the general subject of Egyptian exploration, is surely one admirably fitted for this task.

The author of the original of this translation needs no introduction to the reading public. No one who has any acquaintance with matters Egyptian needs be told who Maspero is. His studies and his position at the head of the Bulak Museum for a number of years have fitted him preeminently for the work.

Of the book the translator says, and we may say the same of the translation: "It is not enough to say that a handbook of Egyptian archaeology was much needed, and that Professor Maspero has given us exactly what we required. He has done much more than this. He has given us a picturesque, vivacious, and highly original volume, as delightful as if it were not learned, and as instructive as if it were dull."

The external appearance of the book is good. It is an excellent example of the best in the printer's power; it is well and fully illustrated, something of immense value in works of this sort. Not only are the representations of the main objects in the illustrations excellent, but the very hieroglyphs are carefully retained so that the statements of the text may be corroborated by reference to the original texts so far as they are reproduced. This we have done in many cases, and always with satisfaction.

The book is not a large one. It contains only 328 pages, whereas we can only wish that the author had seen fit to have made a book of double or treble the size. It could have been done without beginning to exhaust the material at hand or the interest of those who delight in such things. This, in fact, is the main fault that is to be found with the book as a whole. It is rather a sketch than a handbook. As one reads, one is impressed

with the fact that the author knows far more which he might tell us, and which he would delight to tell us, only the limits which he has set for his work prevent. There are many subjects on which we should have welcomed more detailed information. We should have been glad if we could have been told something more about those mysterious texts found in the Pyramids, which so surprised the dying Mariette that he almost denied the accuracy of the intelligence of their discovery. But there must be a line drawn somewhere unless the plan proposed should include an Egyptian encyclopedia, and we must be content.

We are inclined to think that the forecast of Miss Edwards will be realized, and that the book will be "the inseparable companion of all English-speaking travelers who visit the Valley of the Nile." The guide-books contain much that is well-nigh invaluable, and having been compiled by or under the direction of authorities in Egyptian lore, they are authentic and trustworthy. But that the work will displace Wilkinson's volumes is not to be expected, nor is such its aim. It deals with a field which is well defined and complete in itself; however it may be related to other branches of the general subject. Now that this has been made accessible to English readers, we can only hope that before long it may seem worth while to some one to give us in our own language the work of Professor Erman, of Berlin, a work which perhaps has more nearly the same subject-matter as Wilkinson's works, but which approaches it from a different point of view. Wilkinson wrote more of what is to be discovered by close observation of the remains of Egyptian art and customs, while Erman has not only this, but also a most intimate acquaintance with the language and its literature in all its stages and phases of development. The one tells us what the monuments are and what they show, the other what the inscriptions say. Both books are entertaining and instructive from cover to cover. Professor Erman's position as curator of the Egyptian department of the Royal Museum at Berlin, the successor of the renowned Lepsius, gives him great facilities for the work, and is for us a guarantee for its faithful performance.

There are some things about the translation now before us which are not exactly to our liking, as, for example, the spelling of Egyptian proper names, in which Miss Edwards has departed from Maspero and adopted the antiquated system of Murray's "Handbook." The names have a barbarous look, and in some cases, at least, are untrue to the original. This method also gives the transcriptions a mixed character, for there are two or three systems used in the course of the volume. For instance, at one place the *u* is rendered by the simple *u*, as in the German system; at another we find the French *ou*, and at a third the English *oo*. This cannot but be confusing to the lay reader. On pages 320, 321 we find the two readings Ahmea and Kames, and only know from the context that one and the same person is intended. It is scarcely possible to look at the fact that the translation lacks an index in any other light than as a misfortune. On page 106, in a note, the spelling of the name of Professor Erman is incorrect. Occasionally the lettering on a diagram is defective. On page 147 there is reference to "(note 45)," whereas there is no such note in the appendix. On page 167 we find an ambiguous reference to the "New York Museum," though our Metropolitan Museum goes by that name in Europe. The addition of a map would have enhanced the value of the book greatly, though it would at the same time have made it cost somewhat more.

The subject-matter of the volume is divided under the following heads, and under each the historical treatment is pursued, forming at least the guiding principle: Architecture, civil, military, and religious. Tombs, Painting and Sculpture, and The Industrial Arts. The table of contents is quite minute, and forms a sort of substitute for the more welcome index. There are two sets of notes, one by Mr. Petrie, the well-known excavator and archaeologist, and the other by the translator. We note that the latter set have especial relation to the discoveries due to the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund (whose fourth published Memoir has just reached our shores), though by no means restricted to these.

In conclusion it may be said that the volume forms a most welcome addition to our archaeological literature, and that we can only rejoice that in it we find a step forward and not backward. But that there will never be a call for a more complete and detailed work, no one will claim. This one will serve a good purpose as an introduction to the more minute study which is finding new disciples year by year.

Charles R. Gillett.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

BRIEFWECHSEL ZWISCHEN H. L. MARTENSEN UND I. A. DORNER, 1839-1881. Herausgegeben aus deren Nachlass. 2 Bde. Berlin: Reuther. 8vo, pp. vi, 376 and 477. 12 marks.

It is something of a surprise, perhaps, to the most that any more posthumous works of Dorner should appear; but we learn from the preface of this book that it was his express wish that this correspondence should be published. And no one will fail to agree with him as to the desirableness of the publication. Correspondence of this sort is nowadays a rarity. In the first place the writers belonged to different nationalities, and in the next place the letters consist for the most part of elaborate and careful discussions of current questions, especially in the ecclesiastical and theological world, not excluding, however, frequent reference to political matters. That the German and the Dane should have kept up a warm personal friendship for each other while their respective nations were at war with each other, showed how intimate was the bond of religious and personal sympathy that united them. The opinions of two such men on current matters of interest, expressed in the freedom of private correspondence, yet marked by the deepest learning, piety, and thoughtfulness, can hardly fail to be of interest to all who care for the themes here discussed.

An index would have increased the serviceableness of these volumes. But this is a common defect of German books — and not of German alone.

Charles M. Mead.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

ABRAHAM, JOSEPH, AND MOSES IN EGYPT: Being a Course of Lectures delivered before the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey. By Rev. ALFRED H. KELLOGG, D. D., of Philadelphia, member of "Victoria Institute," etc., etc. 8vo, pp. x, 160. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1887.

This is a strong and scholarly book. It is a pendant in Egyptology to the Course in Assyriology, delivered under the same auspices by Dr. McCurdy. Princeton Theological Seminary deserves well of the archæ-

ological world for the "Stone Lectures of 1887." The lucid statement, cautious judgment, wide investigation, and independent thought of Dr. Kellogg are to be praised. He has produced a chronological monograph henceforth to be studied by those who would understand the questions discussed.

The Manetho lists covering Dynasties XIII-XVII, Mr. Kellogg well says are in a state of almost irremediable confusion. He would shorten the Shepherd Period materially on the ground (1) of the position of Shepherd Kings, and (2) of the Set Era of the Tanis Tablet. "Comprising both conquest and rule, it may not have been more than 160 years." The shorter rather than the longer duration of the Israelitish Sojourn in Egypt commends itself to him. He agrees here with many excellent scholars. Whether he lays stress enough on the usage of omitted intermediate links when discussing the genealogy of Moses may perhaps be doubted.

An admirable feature of the book is a chart. This gives five possible Egyptian Registers representing as many Egyptian chronologies all starting with the Set Era and ending with Rameses III or Mineptah. A glance at these makes it probable to those accepting his premises that Thothmes III was the Pharaoh who raised Joseph to be viceroy. His argument for Thothmes III rather than Amenophis III is strengthened by a sketch of the probable influence of Joseph on the reigns succeeding the former prince.

This thought is developed in an attractive way, albeit somewhat burdened by uncertain etymologies and unverified hypotheses. It is well known that Amenophis IV headed a religious movement in favor of the worship of the Sundisk instead of Amen. He was afterwards deemed a heretic. Professor Kellogg would make him a quasi-monotheistic reformer protesting against the encroachments of the Theban priests. This great step toward the Divine Unity was a step in the line of the Heliopolitan creed and ritual. What more probable than that Joseph, connected with the old time purer Sunworship of Heliopolis and even married into its priestly house, should have cast the weight of his whole prestige on its side as symbolizing the invisible Lord of light. The curious foreign marriage of the third Amenophis might flow from and help forward Joseph's prolonged influence in this direction. All this is extremely interesting. The most popular portion of the book, which is also the most original, is the concluding chapter — on the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Mr. Kellogg, like Maspero, rejects explicitly the claim of Mineptah to the ill-starred honor. The Egypt-Exploration Fund through M. Naville he says has located the Exodus under the XIX Dynasty. Who, then, was the last Pharaoh of the XIX Dynasty? "All that can be affirmed at present is he must have been Seti II or Siptah." Siptah's tomb raises difficulties. It has been usurped by Setnekh of Dynasty XX, and by another. Was this Seti II? He had his own tomb near and had succeeded his father Mineptah peaceably. Was the scribe mistaken in writing or Champollion in reading, Seti II? Authorities differ. Mr. Kellogg suggests the ingenious theory (1) that the name on Siptah's tomb is that of Seti "Prince of Cush," who was certainly a courtier under Siptah, who could easily have been a young son and rightful heir of Seti II, and who may have attempted at least to succeed Siptah. Such an one might readily resent his own wrongs by covering Siptah's cartouches with his own. The hypothesis is confessedly nothing more, but it is happy and

may prove fruitful. It leaves Siptah logically if not avowedly the author's choice for the Exodus Pharaoh.

We only add that Dr. Kellogg evinces a first-hand acquaintance with the Hieroglyphics, a scientific method, a constructive talent united to a graceful style, and a modest temper.

John Phelps Taylor.

GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Geschichte der Hebräer, von R. Kittel. I. Halbband: Quellenkunde und Geschichte der Zeit bis zum Tode Josuas. (Handbücher der alten Geschichte. I. Serie. III. Abteilung.) Gotha: Perthes. 8vo, pp. xii, 281. 6 mks.—The first 120 pages of this volume are devoted to a very thorough discussion of the Pentateuch (Hexateuch) question. The author assigns the composition of the Deuteronomic code to the time of Manasseh, of the Elohist and Jahvist to the ninth century B. C. (the former to its beginning, the latter to its close), and of the various parts of the Priest code to different periods between the tenth and the eighth centuries, thus denying its post-exilic origin. The remainder of the volume contains the history of the Patriarchs, of Moses and the sojourn in the wilderness, and of the conquest of Canaan. The author follows the method of giving first the separate accounts of each of the sources, and then what he considers to be the actual course of the history ("den historischen Gehalt"). He occupies middle ground in his attitude toward the sources, recognizing a historical kernel in the extant accounts of the Patriarchal as well as later ages, while at the same time rejecting a large part of the details.

—*Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, von C. P. Tiele. II. Teil: Von der Thronbesteigung Sinacheribs bis zur Eroberung Babels durch Cyrus. (Ibid. I. Serie. IV. Abteilung.) Gotha: Perthes. 8vo, pp. vi, 285–648. 7 mks., complete 13 mks.—The first part of this work, containing the history from the earliest times to the death of Sargon II, appeared in 1886, and the method and general plan are therefore already known. The second part, which has just appeared, extends from the accession of Senacherib to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, containing the conclusion of the second Assyrian and the whole of the second Babylonian or new Chaldaic period. The last 100 pages are devoted to the Babylonian-Assyrian culture, including government, morals, religion, literature, science, art, etc.—*Das Evangelium nach Johannes*, ausgelegt von Dr. Gustav Fr. Wahle, Garnison Pfarrer in Graudenz. Gotha: Perthes. Small 8vo, pp. 714. 12 mks.—The author's standpoint is thoroughly conservative. This appears not only in the introduction, where the direct Johannine authorship of the gospel is maintained with the greatest vigor, but also through the whole commentary. The theological element is quite prominent throughout, and long discursive paragraphs containing general reflections upon the various sections are quite a prominent feature. The work is, however, refreshingly free from the disagreeable polemical tone which is all too common. Its straightforward, constructive method is very pleasing.—*Der erste Brief Pauli an Timotheus*, auf's Neue untersucht und ausgelegt von Dr. Heinrich Koellning. II. Theil: Die Auslegung. Berlin: Rother. 8vo, pp. xxviii, 430.

6 mks. — The first part of this work, containing a discussion of the introductory questions connected with the epistle, appeared in 1882. The author's standpoint is known from that volume. He defends stoutly the Pauline authorship but in a manner hardly calculated to produce much impression upon its opponents, since a sort of subjective Christian consciousness plays a more prominent part in his argument than critical considerations. The work resembles Meyer's commentaries in the large amount of space devoted to the opinions of earlier interpreters. In fact, it is perhaps chiefly valuable as a well-arranged thesaurus of others' views. — *Theologische Studien und Skizzen aus Ostpreussen*, herausgegeben von Dr. Albert Klöpper, Dr. Carl Cornill, Lie. Dr. Friedrich Zimmer und Lie. Dr. Franklin Arnold, Docenten an der Albertus-Universität in Königsberg. Heft I. *Der Galaterbrief im altlateinischen Text*, als Grundlage für einen textkritischen Apparat der Vetus Latina, von F. Zimmer. Pp. 81. 2 mks. II. *Paulinische Studien*, von A. Klöpper. Pp. 33. 1 mk. III. *Das Gebet nach den Paulinischen Schriften*, von F. Zimmer. Pp. 58. 1.50 mks. IV. *Das Aposteldekret (Act. XV.)* Entstehung, Inhalt und Geschichte seiner Wirksamkeit in der christlichen Kirche, von Joh. Georg Sommer. Pp. 54. 1.50 mks. V. *Studien zur Geschichte der Plinianischen Christenverfolgung*, von F. Arnold. Pp. 57. 1.50 mks. Königsberg: Hartung. — This new series thus begun promises much for the advancement of theological science. Heft I. is an important contribution to the history of the development of the old Latin Bible text. The author offers it as an introduction to further investigations in regard to the mutual relations of the four great types of text: first, that used by Tertullian and Cyprian; second, the text referred to by Jerome as Vulgata (called by the author *Communis*); third, the Itala; and fourth, the Vulgate. The text given is that of the "*Communis*," as it occurs in the Codex Claromontanus, and the variations of the other types as well as of the quotations of the fathers are presented with great completeness. Heft II. contains two exegetical studies: first, *Das Sittengesetz der Heiden*, Rom. ii. 13–16; second, *Erklärung des ethischen Abschnittes des Galaterbriefes*, Gal. vi. 1–11. Heft III. is a most interesting study in which Paul's conception of prayer is carefully investigated as it appears in the four undisputed epistles, in the Thessalonians, in the four of the captivity, and in the three Pastorals. The author finds the same conception of prayer throughout except in Ephesians, where some new characteristics appear, and in the Pastorals which he thinks reveal important variations ("Unterschiede von tiefgreifender Bedeutung") from the doctrine of the undisputed epistles. Heft IV. is devoted rather to an interpretation of the meaning of the four prohibitions of the apostolic decree than to an investigation of its rise and historical setting. The selection of these four points and of these alone is justified at some length. The author is certain that whether the details of Luke's account are reliable or not, the decree itself at least is historical. He does not enter, however, into a discussion of this question. Heft V. defends at length the genuineness of the Trajan-Pliny correspondence in regard to the Christians, and then discusses it in its historical bearings and examines its notices of the Christian assemblies.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

ROME, ITALY.



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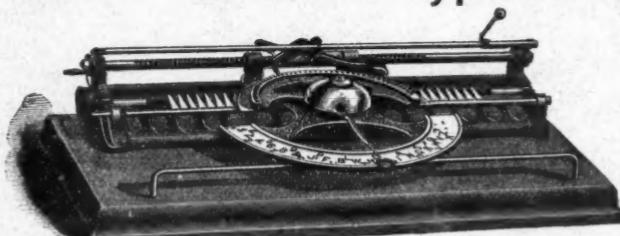
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